

A
**DEFENCE OF
THE RIGHT OF
KINGS.**

**WHEREIN THE POWER OF
the Papacie over Princes, is refuted; and
the Oath of Allegiance iustified.**

**WRITTEN FOR THE USE OF ALL
English Romanists; more especially, for
the Informations of those Priests, or Iesuits,
which are by the Law of this Kingdom
to be banished, or depart
the Kingdom.**

By EDWARD FORSET, Esquire.

Robert *K* *Gordone*

LONDON,

**Printed by B.A. for Nathaniel Butter, and are
to be sold at his shop, at the Pyed Bull,
nere Saint Andrew Gate.**

1624.

DEFENCE OF THE RIGHT OF KINGS.

WHEREIN THE POWER OF
the Papacie over Princes, is refused; and
the Order of Allegiance illustrated.

WRITTEN FOR THE USE OF ALL
English Romish Priests, especially for
the Jesuits, or Jesuits,
which are on command
to confer the Sacrament of Absolution
the Kingdome.



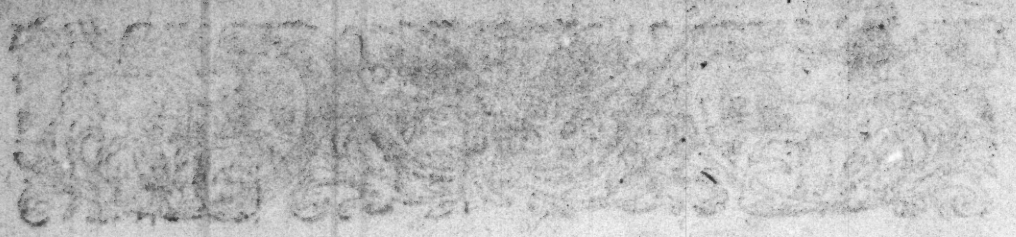
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1624.



TO
THE MOST HIGH
AND POTENT
MONARCH,
JAMES,
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE, AND IRELAND,
KING, DEFENDER OF
THE FAITH,
&c.



TO
THE MOST HIGH
AND POTENT
MONARCH

I ALES



OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE, AND IRELAND,
KING, DEFENDER OF
THE FAITH,

20



TO THE RIGHT

REVEREND FATHER

in God, GEORGE, by the Di-
uine Prouidence Lord Bishop of
LONDON, *my singular*
good Lord.



THE whole Church, and
Kingdome of England,
(Right Reuerend Pre-
late) hath a long time to-
gether taken notice of that
continuell neereneffe, into
which it hath pleased his
Maiestie (who does all things vpon Iudgement) to
admit your wisdom and faithfulness, in matters
of aduice especially, which be most proper to your
sacred Function. Which Grace of your Lordships
with so wise and learned a Prince, hath perswaded
me, that as you were the fittest, so you would be the
willingest to doe our Great Master this seruice; for
so I hope this Office will proue, if your Lordship wil
be pleased, that this Booke may by your hands haue
accesse vnto his Maiestie. It treats of a Royall Ar-
gument, and therefore (euen of dutie) to be dedica-
red to a King, as a thing due vnto Cæsar: And due

A

vnto

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

unto our King especially, whom God hath rayssed vp in Brittain, as the Fort Royall of Princes, to amate that Tower of Babel, that proud Castle of S. Angelo. And therefore as his Maiestie himselfe hath first of all, and best of all, written in this kind, and giuen the ablest directions vnto others to prosecute the Argument; so it might seeme presumption, if any thing of this subiect should come abroad without his Royall assent.

His Maiesties example (together with this Gentlemans owne zeale to the Cause) did at first, no doubt, encourage this learned Author to undertake this present Worke, who as he still is by his place a Iustice of Peace, so hath he here done Iustice vpon that sawcie Medler with the Rights of Princes, Parsons the Iesuit, and those two seditious Bookes of his, one comming out vnder the name of P.R. the other of a Catholike Gentleman, both which he hath here made to keepe the Kings peace. The Title will (I hope) find gracious acceptance, and the Booke honourable approbation with his sacred Maiestie. Which hope of mine hath emboldened me to offer it vnto your good Lordship, as a testimonie of my most hearty and humble thankfulnessse, for those fauors which I haue receiued from your goodnessse: the remembrance of which shall euer bind me to be at your Lordships service most faithfully.

Nathaniell Butter.



TO THE READER.

OCTAVIUS the Emperour did rather chuse to violate the will of *Virgil*, then to consume those laborious *Aeneids* of his in the flames of Oblivion. Why then should not this example of his, excuse me from blame of the Author of this following Worke, for attempting to commit to the Presse, and commending that to others in publike, which he but lent to me in priuate? since good things are best knowne, by their vse; and well considering, how acceptable it may prooue to our hopefull times. The end of his ayne, when hee first began this Treatise (I am well assured) was onely to satisfie his owne priuate Iudgement, esteeming it (through his too much Modestie) so farre vnfit for the publike view, as for the space of tenne or twelue yeeres since the finishing of it, hee suffered it to rest obscure, amongst his other priuate Labours; wherein his industrie and abilitie may appeare to be made yet more transparent, in his owne vnder-valuing of what hee hath so exactly performed: Which coming thus accidentally to my hands, and viewing the matter it treated of, and the malicious slanders it retreated, I could not chuse but euen blame the vnkind Author, that would haue made the very Wombe of this his seasonable Off-spring, the Tombe, and giuen it at one and the same time both life and dissolution together.

Inter Virgilij
fragmenta.

To the Reader.

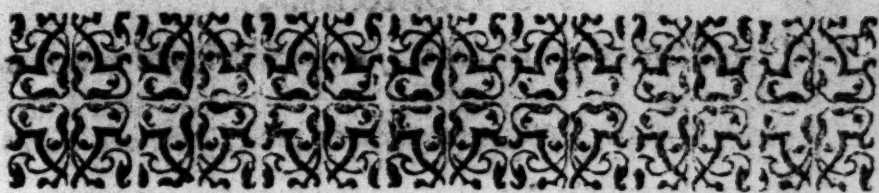
I haue therefore aduentured my Endeuors (without his knowledge, beyond his expectation, and I am afraid, against his desire) for the publishing of that which I knew might prooue so vsefull: which remaining obscure, and in silence, neither should the Cause nor the *Parsons* be vindicated; nor yet the soueraignie of this Antidote against that dispersed Poyson, haue beene discernable, or serued for publike benefit. And though the man opposed be (as I conceiue) vn- capable of defence, yet there remaine many of his Labors, that like the Vipers brood haue suckt a stronger Poyson from his death. Nor want there many of his Iesuited Disciples, who may yet doe him right, if they thinke him iniuried; though it be true, *Vni Ce-*

sumus multi insunt Marii.

All I desire, is pardon from the Author, vpon whose Worth so well knowne, and Loue so often tryed by me, I haue thus farre presumed; not doubting, but the publike good that may ensue his owne Labour, will ouer-sway his resolued retyrednesse. As for thy acceptance, I doubt it not, because the benefit is thine owne; and accounting it reward enough to my selfe, that I am but the Instrument of communicating this to others.

Farewell.

F. B.



PARTICVLAR MATTERS discussed in this Treatise.

THe occasion of this *Question concerning the Popes power.*

The mitigations of P.R. touching the Powder-treason.

His mangling and omitting of my Lords words.

Whether the Pope cannot erre: With the manifold distinctions of the Papists therein.

How the true estate of the Question concerning the Popes power, is hidden by a cunning forme of words.

Whether this point be generally agreed upon amongst Catholikes, and how dangerous the same is to the State.

How he minceth and mitigateth the matter in question.

The true Question, and how largely it extendeth.

The reasons made for the position, and the same answered: and that there neither is, nor euer was, any standing Authoritie to deprive Kings.

No reason for the Popes power in nature.

Whether the vniuersall Pastorship be instituted by Christ, and what points must be prooued, before that come to be made good.

The Iesuites busie entermedling in State-affaires.

The prooffe from the word Pasce Oues examined, and Baronius his expositions and inferences in this matter.

Other strange arguments for the Popes temporall power.

The Pope no rightfull successor of S. Peter, but wrongfully pretendeth his Authoritie, or Primacie.

The Pope no successor or imitator of Christ.

Their distinction of Authoritie, direct and vndirect, examined.

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What necessitie there is of this Pastorall power, and how it is qualified.

Politike reaches in Poperie, to aduance the Authoritie aforesaid.

The Pope may reduce all causes to his Cognizance, and how farre he may extend the power of Seculare Brachium, the Secular Arme.

The Doctrine of the Iesuits concerning the deposing of Princes, holding that euen priuate men may destroy Kings.

P. R. yeeldeth vnto the point of the Kings Supremacie, in that sence as We doe accept the same.

P. R. drinen to fall from that which he had yeelded.

The Pope and Bellarmine will dislike as much of P. R. for yeelding to the Kings Supremacie of preservation, as they do of M. Blackwell, for taking the Oath of Allegiance.

P. R. thought to be the author of the Letter which replyeth to the Apologie of the Oath.

He cannot yeeld Supremacie in all causes, in his owne sence, and yet maine aine the Popes power of deposing.

The maintaining of the Popes temporall power, and the denying of the Oath of Allegiance, is all one.

He ought to haue shewed particular matter to be disliked in the seuerall parts of the Oath: the true cause Why he doth not.

His foure reasons, whereby he would proue matter of Religion in the Oath, be examined, and refused.

All limittig of the Popes power, is not matter of Faith.

The allowing to the Pope a power to depose the King, cannot stand with Allegiance.

A short answer (consisting of two parts) to the whole Booke, Written against Sir Edw. Coke, concerning the Popes Authoritie in this Kingdome.

Difference in the case of subiects under Catholike Kings & the subiects of this kingdome, & between the now subiects & those of former times under Catholike Kings of England.

The distinction of the Popes Authoritie, direct and indirect, rectified.

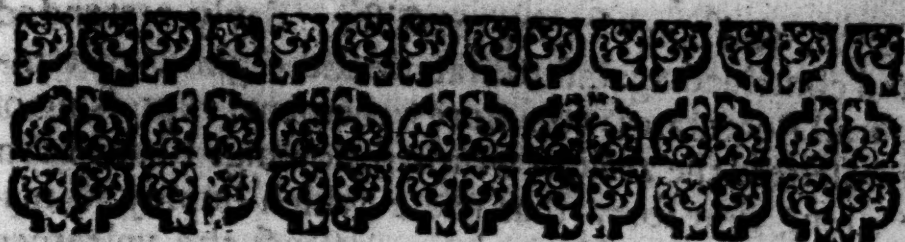
Reasons

The Contents.

- Reasons to induce the Catholike subiects not to refuse the Oath
That sundry Papists haue taken the Oath Willingly: and that
the Gent. Wrongeth them in making a doubt thereof, vpon
any allegation of constraint by feare.*
- That the Law containeth not any compelling or unlawfull
meanes, to make any to sweare unwillingly.*
- That they haue also sworne faithfully: and that the equiuoca-
ting sence which the Gent. deuiseeth, Was not used by them,
nor ought to be used by any, being sencelesse, and against the
Oath directly.*
- The Gent. rage and threats, for enforcing of the Oath.*
- His Theologie controlled, concerning the ministring of an Oath
vnto such, as hee that ministreth the same, suspecteth will
forswear himselfe.*
- That amongst the Papists, there be greater enforcements to
make men abiure Opinions, yea, under paine of death, as is
confessed: And that the answer to maintaine the same by the
title of *Ius acquisitum*, is idle and frivolum.*
- A Wish for eternizing the memorie of the Gunpowder Treas-
on, in answer of their anger for our so often iterating or up-
braiding to them that most abhorred Conspiracie.*

FINIS.
2 AU 58

[illegible]



AN EXAMINATION OF
a Position published by P. R. in the
preface of his treatise, tending to mitigation,
concerning the lawfullnesse of the Popes Pow-
er ouer Princes : with a defence of
the oath of Allegiance.

IT pleased the Right Honorable the
Earle of *Salisbury*, in his exactly writ-
ten, and necessary published answer, to
certaine scandalous Papists prouoking
him by occasion, and in fashion vsuffe-
rable, to protest against the insolency and
malignity of the Romish Church, out of the bosome
whereof so many Treacheries, Conspirasies and Imma-
nities of the foulest kind, haue binvented into the world,
tending to ouerule or ruinate whatsoeuer authority, not
submitting the necke to the yoake of that vsurping po-
wer; in the very first passage of that his Appologetticall
declaration (which enuie it selfe could not passe ouer
without attribution of highest praise) hee was carried
(by the contemplation of so many dangerous de-
signes

signes, and plotting practises, dayly pretended and contriued against the safetie and dignitie of temporall Potentates) to a more vehement expressing of himselfe in the zeale of words following. I haue been
 a long time sorry, that those which imploy so many seditious spirits dayly to instruct the vnlearned Catholikes, in these mysteries of deposing Princes, haue not by some publike & definitiue sentence Orthodoxall (in which it is supposed, the Pope cannot erre) made some cleere explication of their assumed power ouer Soueraigne Princes, as nor onely those which acknowledge his superioritie might bee secured from feares and ieaiousies of continuall treasons, and bloody affassinates against their persons, but those kings which doe not approoue the same, and yet would faine reserue a charitable opinion of her subiects, might know how far to repose themselves in their fidelitie, in ciuill obedience, howsoeuer they seem to be deuided from them in point of conscience.

To which his Lordsh. so honourable desire, this good father offereth and endeauoureth to giue satisfaction. Aman (if we mistake not his sheepe marke) of some fame, and note of that side, placed in a degree of preheminance, graced with more then ordinary gifts, confidently conceited of himselfe, and daring to vndertake matters of highest nature; notwithstanding, obseruation is made of him that his boldnes much ouerbalanceth any other his best worth.

His said preface of the importune exasperations vsed by diuers to increase our diuision and disagreement about matters of Religion is very presumptuous, and altogether censorious; wholly spent in taxing and traducing

traducing not onely the particular speeches, or writings of some especiall men of excellent desert in this state, as if whatsoeuer they haue vttered out of the abundance of iust grieffe in detestation of the late execrable treason, did wholly proceede from exasperation, exulceration, aggravation, exaggeration and calumniation, (for in those high sounding termes he beareth his stile aloft) but also the administration of iustice, the vprightnes of our regiment, the newly enacted penall lawes, as making the state of English Catholikes vnder Protestant gouernement more miserable and intolerable, than that of the Iewes vnder any sort of Christian Princes, that of the Grecians, or Christians vnder the Turke or Persian, or that of bond Subiects, vnder the Polonians, Suetians, and Muscouites, onely he confesseth that in two mens writings he findeth more moderation. The one is his Maiestie in his speeches, both in Parliament, & in Proclamations (whereunto yet he giueth some dash or wipe of exception) The other is my Lord of Salisbury in his said answer, to that fond menacing letter, or rather franticke commination which yet (hee saith) wanteth not his sting, piercing euen to the quicke. After hee hath thus throughout his many licentious leaues, braued it with exorbitant and exulting phrases, at the last, he falleth in hand with this piece of doctrine occasionally drawne thereunto by the consideration of his Lordships said desire, and (forfooth) he is the man that must instruct and settle my Lords iudgment by his profound resolues, seeming to be moued with pittie, that his Honour (in a matter not appertaining properly to his facultie or profession) hath beene misled or misinformed by his diuine.

Before he lancheth into the maine of the matter, he dis-

poseth himselfe malepertly, to make a crosse, or quare, of the truth of such threatnings and scandalls expressed in the said letters. For he pauseth vpon the matter, with his parenthesis (if any such were) and after insinuateth his suspicion that the same came from the forge of some such as (altogether with a blowe, to be thereby giuen to all Catholikes) had a desire to draw forth from his Lordship, &c.

It seemeth that these laques of the Romish faction are very frequently acquainted with such fictions, what designe can be more disastrous then that the credence, so publicly deliuered by so honorable a person of his place, and eminency in the state; and of such vnspotted integritie, in the carriage of all causes, and otherwise to bee sufficiently testified also, by the concurrence of sundry mens particular knowledge, must vndergoe the girds and glances of his misdoubts and questioning curiosities: but leauing the cauilling fellow to his malevolent surmises; I will now come to his other presumption, whereby hee vndertaketh to assure and satisfie my Lord of the doctrinall position, of deposing Soueraignes, wherein (albeit I well know, that his honour is most able with his sharpe enquirie, and iudicious discerning, to looke into all the secret corners and hiding places which he can contriue, or reserue in this cause, *Nequa forte lateat intus garrula cornix*, yet not knowing whether his Lordship out of his many other most waightie affaires can affoord vnto this vain discourser so much losse of time, as but to read his so idle & frothy stuffe. I humbly aske leaue of his Lordship, if at my meanenes, and weaknes may make aduenture to take him in hand, to charge him, and combate him, in this

so high and most important controuersie:
 But before we come to the core of the question, let it
 be obserued what good cause he hath to pleade for miti-
 gation, and how well he acteth the part of a mitigator.
 In the mention which hee maketh of the late powder
 plot for the suddaine, and vntrecoerable subuersion of
 our gracious King, and the whole state at once, (the very
 cogitation whereof, is as full of horror, as the perpetrati-
 on thereof, would haue beene of treachery, and atrocitie)
 what fit or equiualent tearme hath his mild, and mitiga-
 ring spirit, deuised to expresse or paint forth the hauious-
 nes thereof? he doth twice (for sayling) iterate vnto vs
 that it was the temeritie of a few. He could not haue cho-
 sen a more easie, or more abating word, if he had beene,
 to reprobue them for some small misdemeour against a
 petty Constable: can it be otherwise thought, but that
 this Artist, and Tradesman of words, did out of his in-
 clination, and tendernesse of heart, sort out of the gentlest
 tearme he could find, lest he should seeme too sharpe and
 fore against them. Doth he imagine by such his mitiga-
 tion to perswade the King and Realme to tolleration: the
 kings Councell, learned at the law, in the dinoracion and
 amplification of that vnspeakeable conspiracy, finding it
 to conteyne so many treasons in one, declared the same
 to be, *as sine exemplo, & sine modo*, so also *sine nomine*. Now
 this Rhetoricall Father could haue taught them all to
 haue framed the inditement vpon his so proper
 name, the treason of temeritie. I can hardly endure
 his other word (few) sauiouring of the like mitigation
 also, yet I know that I shall euen madde him, in tel-
 ling him the very troth of my thought. Hee sayth;
 That

' That to extend and draw out the hatred and participa-
 ' tion of that fault to others of that religion; yea vnto the
 ' whole multitude, is a matter of exorbitant iniustice and
 ' vntemperate malice. I confesse that he hath herein some
 aduantage, both by the admirable goodnes and clemen-
 cy of so louing a Soueraigne that suffereth not Iealoufie
 to outrunne proofes, and by the defect of discouerie of
 the degrees and depths of that designe. Yet (if it bee but
 to crosse him in the conceit) hee carrieth, fronting the
 ' same in the stile and inscription of his booke. That it
 ' is not vnpossible for Catholikes and Protestants to liue
 ' together in durifull obedience and subiection vnder the
 ' gouernment of his Maiestie. (I will let him know) that
 for my part, I did long since make it euen an article of my
 beleefe, that the like plot was rightly to be resembled to
 the trayne of powder; wherby it was to haue had his exe-
 cution, for as one corne thereof would haue fired ano-
 ther, carrying the flash along, till the whole should ioyne
 together in full force. So vndoubtedly, the maine corps
 of Papacy within this land would haue bene stirred vp
 being laid in order and prepared by those wicked tray-
 nors, and leaders, according as they had contriued, the
 fire of their treason and rebellion to catch hold, & flame
 forth. And it may sooner be feared, then it can be known,
 that (besides the few powder cornes directed and disap-
 pointed) there was a longer and stronger traine, yea great
 and mighty barrells, that would haue bene combined to
 haue wrought the generall combustion, and dissipation of
 the whole state. I will rest this point with prayer, that
 (howsoeuer there may be vse or necessitie to trust vnto
 their faithfulness) yet that there may neuer be opportuni-
 tie, or meanes giuen them for the triall of her infidelitic,
 and disloyaltie.

An

An other trick of his running in mitigation, is shewed in the mangling and mincing of the sense and feruency of his Lordships speech, hee wholly pretermitteth that part of the recited sentence, which by charging them to haue employed so many seditious spirits to instruct the vnlearned Catholikes in the mysteries of deposing Princes, doth the more vrgently presse them by a iust account to make good the causes of such their mischieuous and detestable proceedings. Shall I coniecture at his conceire in concealing or withdrawing of these words? He felt the same to strike into his sides the spurre of guiltines, by the remembrances of his owne notorious offences: who for many yeares hath beene thought a busie instrument of enkindling the simple and deuoted Catholikes with the spirit of sedition, and hath beene a detected confederate in the trayterous agencies, wherein his subordinate Iesuites hath beene so disloyally employed. Wherefore (though he had no great liking to heare againe the sound of such words, as must conuey an accusing sting into his conscience, yet he thought to lay it heauy vpon him (as a charge that hee might not well auoyde) to set forth (by declaring of the Papall right) some seeming shew in iustification of his owne and his complices, vndue & disloyall dealings.

In the rehearfall of the same sentence, he maketh one other omission of these words, inclosed in a parenthesis (in which it is supposed the Pope cannot erre.) This prerogatiue point of the Popes new erring iudgement, hee hath stily passed by, as not willing to rush vpon that rock, vpon the firmenes and stabilitie whereof, their whole Church is baile, this opinion (as his Lordship truely deliuered) hath for some ages passed beene receiued, and stily maintained

Ca. 6. par. 2

rayned by the fawning bindes of the Pope, that hath
 beene accustomed, *Tribunat Romanum lambere*, but this
 good mitigator, finding no coulerable defence against
 many and wayty arguments, whereby such the transcen-
 ding exaltation bestowed on his holinesse, is vterly de-
 lected and ouerthrowne, hath no great liking to passe his
 affirmation, and assent to that doctrine, which the powers
 of his wit and learning, is not able to vphold. Nay hee
 hath in this controuerfie taken an head, and singled him-
 selfe from the common Catholikes, closing hands in con-
 clusion with the Protestants. For in this very treatise, he
 hath afforded vs this fauour, that Popes may erre, yea
 euen in the articles of faith, yea and become Heretickes,
 and Apostataes, and that as Popes, that for the same,
 they may be deposed, and deprived of their Papall prehe-
 minence, doth he not speake like an honest plaine dealer,
 as if he would no more adore that Idoll of Rome, and
 as if hee cared not any whit for the triuiall obiections
 made out of the words of Christ vnto Saint Peter, I haue
 prayed that thy faith shall not faile: and againe, vpon this
 Rocke (meaning Saint Peter) I will build my Church:
 Nothing more permanent and vnmoueable than a rock,
 nothing more certaine of effect than what Christ prayeth
 for, and whatsoeuer endowments of gifts or graces was
 bestowed vpon Saint Peter, did become the fee-simple
 and inheritance of the see of Rome. Hee that regardeth
 not these inferences, and allegations so generally allow-
 ed and insisted vpon in the Church of Rome, and which
 hath hitherunto been vsed as the shoulers of *Atlas* to
 vphold the earthly heauen of the Pope, their earthly
 god, doth he not giue good hope, that hee will reuolt
 from Papacy it selfe? But (notwithstanding these faire
 shewes)

shewes) by the helpe of some of his fellowes, hee hath found out a shuffling distinction to winde himselfe out of all the straights, and entrapments, wherewith he seemed to be fettered so vnnoydably, And this it is.

That albeit the Popes, as Popes may erre, become Apostataes and Heretikes, yet that God (as Popes) will neuer permit them, to decree any hereticall doctrine, to be held by the Church, or for the whole Church; What can we say to the subtiltie of this distinction? It is like to the buckler of *Achilles* that had many plates enfolded, one within the other, to giue the more assurance against all blowes or thrusts. It is a fertile and pregnant distinction, it hath these seuerall issues of his body begotten. First, that Popes as men may erre, and be Heretikes, yea and decree hereticall doctrine; but not as Popes, for that God will not permit; It is pretty, but what sure marke or token doth he giue, whereby it may be knowne, what hee doth as Pope, or what hee doth as man? they say that God permitteth not, and we say, that onely God knoweth the difference between his actions, or enactings as Pope, and his decisions as man, and so the Church resteth vncertaine how farre to be bound.

Secondly, God may permit Popes (as Popes) to hold hereticall doctrine, but not to decree it, where shall wee finde *consistendi locum*? if in their consistory, they shall declare, pronounce, and resolute vpon Heretical doctrine, may that amount vnto a decree, we have had many such decrees reuerfed and repeated.

Thirdly, though God permit Popes (as Popes) to decree an erroneous and false doctrine, yet if at any time after (as if that wild beast even the Bore of the Forrest, had *reuerendi animus*) he recall or reiect the same, or doth

nor wittingly (as against the known Catholike truth) oppose himselfe with perversitie, that doctrine is not to bee adiudged hereticall, and thereby commeth vnder the covert of the first distinction.

Fourthly, though God permit Popes (as Popes) to decree any hereticall doctrine, yet doth this distinction afford one hiding corner more, that the same is not decreed to be held by the Church. Then let them, at the least, allow vs this footing against the Pope, that the Church is not bound to maintaine all his decrees.

Fiftly, though God permit Popes (as Popes) to decree any hereticall doctrine to be held by the Church, yet the former distinction is further enriched with this clause, (taken out of *Canus*) that God permitteth not that decree for the whole Church: as if by the permission of God, the Church (like to the moone) may bee for the greater part thereof, darkned and seduced by such hereticall decrees of the Pope; yet that the whole Church, and every member of the same, as (for instance) the Protestant part, which is deuided and departed from the abominations of Rome, is not carried headlong into heresie by any sentence or decree Papall.

Sixtly, there is yet included and reserved in this distinction one question more, as conceived in the wombe, but not expressed in plaine termes, which (at times of exigent when they be pressed) they forget not to cleave vnto; which is, that the Church here mentioned, is, and must be the Catholike Romish Church, as if that particular of Rome, were the generall of the world, and that the Romish alone, had this eminent exception, aboue all other Churches, that the members thereof were not to be concluded or enthralled by euery decrees of their Head.

I can-

I cannot yet haue done with this seauen-headed subtle
serpēt, this deceitfull distinction. Allow it in his perfectest
shape, and close it together in all his ioyns, God permit-
teth not the Pope (as Pope) to decree hereticall doctrine
to bee held by the Church, and for the whole Church;
what hath all this more then an euivalence to this say-
ing? God permitteth not the diuell to haue power to de-
stroy the elect and faithfull? And as when the Angell
Raphaell bound the euill spirit from hurting of *Tobias*, it
could not be construed to bee a fauour or a signe of loue
vnto that euill spirit: so the not permitting of the Pope
to decree hereticall doctrine, is no aduancing or aduan-
tage of the Papall authoritie from being restrained, or
not suffered to doe so grieuous hurts.

This may suffice for his distinction, and subdistinction-
ons, like the foxe and the cubbs, vnto which I haue the
more respectiue cast mine eye, because I find this mat-
ter of the vnfallibilitie of the Popes decrees so closly
couched euen to the centure of our question, of his pow-
er ouer Princes. If I haue beene too long in examining
his *malam fidem* in the mitrigations and omissions before
mentioned, I must (for excuse) confesse, that I was well
content to take him tardy in that very fault which hee so
clamerously vpbraideth to his Antigonist Master *Morton*,
carping and catching at him throughout his whole book
with a triumph of phrases for the very same corruption,
(as he tearmeth it) though I nothing doubt but hee will
sufficiently acquit himselfe of all those friuolous and vn-
iust cauells.

The matters that we haue hitherto met with, haue been
but introductory, and vpon the bye. Now it is meete
we look into the maine and substantiall point of doctrine,

which (as if hee were closet-keeper to the Pope) hee confidently deliuereth to be Catholike and Orthodoxall, inducing his Lordship to set vp his rest vpon that vnreprooueable resolution.

I protest, that when I first considered how to redyce the question to a true discussable state, I found that I could not draw downe the right proposition, which is to bee controuerted betweene vs in that kind of language which hee speaketh, I found that hee vsed so much glosing, and dilating so many gay shewes and pretences, such cloathing and decking of the cause with well chosen words for the faire carriage of the matter, as that the naked and plaine sence thereof was not easily to be discovered.

But after scanning more aduisedly, and breaking the ranke of his words, to looke into his innermost meaning, and matching the same, with that hee must stay if hee will performe his vndertakings, I discerned at the last a sowre pill to bee wrapped vp in a lease of gold, the doctrine of conspiracy and rebellion against the state and life of Princes, cunningly couered ouer with a thicke crust of sweet Candie, to relesh the better with the simple, and so to deceiue them with a fore-inducing sweetnes. The Proposition must be this, The Pope may depose the king, and such his power is approoued of all Catholikes. And that appeareth thus, his Lordship speaking of the seditious spirits, that instruct the vnlearned in the mysteries of deposing Princes, desireth therein some publike and definitiue sentence Orthodoxall for cleare explication of such. The Popes assumed power, ouer So- ueraigne Princes, therefore if this smooth mittigator will without winding away by circumlocutions, and with-

out his so finely framed tendernesse of Phrase, speake *ad idem*, plainely, and home to the purpose, hee must auouch this to bee a publike definitiue sentence, That the Pope hath lawfull power to depose Princes, but how doth hee expresse and pronounce this point? hee is so nice and warie, that hee thinketh not good to name the Pope at all, doubting belike that that name is distastfull, but in stead thereof, hee bestoweth on his holinesse the stately stile of Supream Gouvernour and Pastor of the Church and Common-wealth, repeating the same words sundry times, and purposedly auoiding the other, doth hee not imploy and inferre by this mounting of the Pope to the title of Supream Gouvernour of the Common-wealth, that hee is the king of kings, and that Princes hold their scepters, as Viceroyes, and Lieutenants vnder him? I vnderstand not else how he can close the Common wealth within the Popes clawes: then again in the like sort, he shunneeth the hatefull teame of deposing, and vseth in the stead therof, restraining, repressing, censuring, or iudging. And lastly he doth very mildly mittigate the rigor of deprauing the name, or depriuing the person of the Prince, by applying this power, to the restraining or censuring any exorbitant & pernicious excesse of great men, States or Princes, would not any man iudge, that (being so mannerly, so obseruant, and cautulous, he were affraid or shamed to fall so fowle vpon Princes, as to maintaine the vsurpation of Papacy, in deposing of them? hee setteth not one step in this question, wherein hee doth not doubt, that hee treadeth vpon thornes, yet trusting vpon his two great gifts, facilitie of speech, and boldnesse of face. Hee spareth not to tell his Lordship that his Diuine

might easily haue enformed him, that amongst Catho-
like people the matter is cleere, and sufficiently defi-
ned, and declared in all points wherein there may bee
any doubt concerning this affaire. Surely, his Lordships
Deuine, may perhaps concurre in opinion with Master
Morton, and most euidently discerne the consent and ad-
herensie of Catholikes in the execrable practise of this
proposition, but (that they haue not agreed in the iudge-
ments and approbation of the point in question) the di-
rect renouncing and disclayming thereof by some of the
best learned of that side, at the time of their suffering of
death for Treason, doth cleerely and fully make knowne
vnto him and all the world.

I will not take vpon me to search out and lay together
heapes of rapsodies and collections, culled out of their
writers to demonstratetheir differences in this argument,
thereby to disprooue their so pretended agreement in
this definitiue sentence; but I trust to shew the same to be
so false, so weake, so washie, and of so little waight, as
vpon the ripping and examining thereof, it will euery
whit of it fall quite asunder, sayling altogether of all
ground, whereupon to stand, and hauing no good props
to sustaine or support the same.

In the meane while hee may perhaps doe vs a little
more good than hee wisheth by his intimation vnto vs,
That among Catholike people the matter is so cleere,
for we are thereby to take notice and warning, how lit-
tle wee are to trust Catholikes, seeing they acknowledge
this *L. Peramont*, aboue the Kings, & must yeeld their
Omnimodā obedientiā to that supream Pastor, combining
themselves at his beck in al dangerous designs when any
pretence is made, that the gouernment of spiritual affaires
apper-

appertaining to the Cath. Church, is letted or impugned by our temporall gouernour, for in such case (saith this learned Father) the said supream Pastor hath authority to proceed against the said temporall gouernour, for defence & preservation of his spiritual Charge, had we not need to looke about vs euen with *Argus* eyes, when wee haue so many hands of this *Briarins* to fasten vpon vs at euery turne: euery let of spirituall affaires is punishable by the supream Pastor, and such lets may as easily be imputed or imposed for a crime vpon the temporall gouernour, here is a good gap opened, and a way made wide enough for the firebrands of sedition, and the contentious discontented, to reuell and route it in a common wealth, to suggest, inform, obiect, and oppose against all magistracy.

Here againe I must put him in mind of his mittigations and extenuations, in sorting and vsing the gentler, and more pleasing words. What shall we think he meaneth by proceeding against the Temporall gouernour? might he not as well haue said, cite him, censure him, excommunicate him, depose him, and beare him out of his chaire of estate with the horns of a dreadful Bull? If *Paulus* the, or *Pius* the, had had this our mealeie mouthed mittigator to haue bin the penman of their Bulls, he would rather haue the milder words of proyning or repressing, then the other of extreame and violent (borrowed from the Prophet *Jeremie*) of destroying and pulling vp by the rootes, yet his kindnesse doth not hold constant, for in after reasonings, when he ioyneth vp issue vpon the true state of the question; whether the words of the Prophet be well applyed by allusion to make good the authoritie of Christs

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Christs successors vpon earth, and whether the forenamed Popes by such their arrogant and impudent glosing vpon the text, doth not (in this forcing and streyning of the Scriptures) peruert the Sacred Oracles of God, he is content to ioyne with his companions of that feather, in iustification of the right applying of the text, for the confirmation of the Papall power, of pulling vp and destroying Soueraigne Gouvernours, though indeed (to doe him right) all the reason he vseth, or yeeldeth in defence thereof, is onely and barely this. Is this so great an impietie thinke you? Then let him giue what allay he listeth to the tartnesse of this doctrine, by his well seasoning thereof with his soft and supple words, yet as in the practike, the degrees of proceeding against Princes doth grow in order (or rather in disorder) of consequence by the actuall attempt of their subuersion and destruction, so in the disputatiue to allow him his mittigating tearmes, of redressing or repressing, will by direct inference and necessarie extention, reach to the crowne and life of Imperiall Maiestie.

Therefore laying aside all masking and mincing of the matter, by his artificiall vtterance, the cause in controuerfie, and to be argued is all one in the words as we put it, whether the Pope may depose the Prince, and in the words, as this shye and slye discourser will needes haue it, whether the Supream Pastor may restraine the exorbitant and pernicious excesse of great men, &c.

Now that we haue the right questioned proposition, set downe plainly, and stripped of that Rhetoricall array which dazled our eyes from discerning the true vnderstanding and intention thereof, wee may proceede to the

the considering and sifting of the reasons, devised and alleadged for the maintenance of this assertion: Nevertheless it is not my purpose, nor standing with my profession (being no Diuine, and scant a Scholler) to looke into all the sinewes and veines of this question, to the vttermost spread and extent thereof, it toucheth vpon some principles of naturall reason, it also runneth through the course of Histories of all ages and countries, It is triable by many rules and examples, both in the old and new Testament, it wanteth not the censure of the old Doctors, and Fathers of the Church. It is handled cunningly, and mystically, by the Popes Minions, the Canonists. It must abide a canuasse amongst the Sophisticating Schoolemen: Finally, it hath beene by the moderne handlers of controuersie, argued with much skill and strength of wit. I haue no intent to leade along this question, through all the parts of learning. I will willingly leaue the load, and tugge off such multiplicity, or rather vniuersalitie to his good hand, and dexterity of handling, who is already interessed and engaged thereunto, and no doubt well provided, and most accomplished, I meane, Mr. *Merion*, against whom this Popish volume is addressed, in refutation of his former learned and religious treatise. My endeauiours in this cause, be confined onely to that part of the Preface, in the which (concerning this question) that dissembling Authour, hath set forth the Catholike opinion, accompanied, and garded with some reasons, to confirme and strengthen the same, pretending thereby to let his Lordship know, that the point whereof hee resteth doubtful, is amongst them reduced to a generall resolved certaintie; the opinion it selfe what it is indeed,

or what it ought to be, in the direct opposition, or (as he presumeth) satisfaction to his Lordship hath beene already sufficiently debated, and laid downe. His reasons to *cogere assensum* be two; one, that this assertion is founded in the very law of nature, and nations, the other is also maintainable by the authoritie, providence, and ordinance of our Saviour Christ: for declaration of his first reason, he setteth forth, that in the Common-wealths that are not Christians, all Philosophers, Law-makers, Senators, Councillors, Historiographers, and all other sorts of soundest wisdom, prudence, and experience, either Jew, or Gentile, have from the beginning of the world concurred in this, that God and Nature, hath left sufficient authoritie in every Common wealth, for the lawfull and orderly full repressing of these euills, euen in the highest persons; so what a cloude of witnesses hee hath brought out with one breath, and yet no more for the prooffe of his purpose, than the casuall confluence or concurrence of *Democritus* his moles, did serue to make solide bodies or concreate substances. In this obiection he and I are as farre asunder, as is from Rome to London, nay, as farre as the East is from the West, where he saith, all Common wealths Philosophers, Law-makers, Senators, Councillours, Historiographers, and all sorts of soundest wisdom, Jew or Gentile, &c. I on the other side, will be content to make the like pompous and stately muster of all Common-wealths; Law-makers, Senators, &c. and hauing called them altogether to this stage of our strife, and then offered this question, in scruting amongst them, I will be bold positively to set it downe, that not by any of them, it was euer

published or professed, that by any ordinary authority, such redresse as herein is meant by deposition of Princes, or highest persons, was, or might be, lawfully, reasonably, or iustly, had, vsed, or exercised. I am not ignorant, that hauing in this challenge put my selfe vpon the negatiue, and so giuen to him so large a scope of aduantage, as to disprooue my generality, with any one affirmatiue instance, it behooueth me to hold my selfe close to that very point which I require to be fully prooued; therefore once againe (so he will take in for a fauor that I doe ease him of the great taske which hee hath vnder-takē to shew, that all Common wealths, Philosophers, &c. wherein his friends may pittie him for presumption, in proposing impossibilities) I redouble it vnto him thus, that he cannot produce from al the infinity of learning, any one president, prophane or sacred, whereby it may appeare, that by any publikely authorised orders, there was euer any standing and ordinary direction, and power, for the deposing of lawfull Princes against their wills from their inheritable rights of Soueraignty; I say lawfull Princes to meet with the obiections he is like to cloy vs with, of some Princes, who by reason of their naturall impotencies, were accounted vncapable or vn-lawfull, & of other some, who acquiring Kingdomes by the sword and inuasion, may be deemed vnlawfull, and so with like force & violence, to be repressed and expelled. Likewise I haue added (inheritable rights) as well because that fitteth our state, (in whose bowels this debate hath so dangerously striuen) as also to cut off from him the feeding supplies of his error, which are the elective governments, wherein perhaps now & then vpon breaches of contracted condition there hath ensued

deprauation from the possessed dignitie, (yet those deprauations for the most part) haue beene in tumult, violence, and disorder, factiously, and mutinously performed, without any regular or iuridical course, agreeable to the tenure of the lawes of that place. I further added (against their wills) both because this enforcement from the Pope is of that nature, and vpon purpose to disfurnish him of some examples, wherein I foresee how triumphantly he would haue gloried. For we doe not deny but there hath beene many resignations vpon due consideration had by those suppressed Princes, of the many acknowledged, and vnanswerable defects, or offences in their regiment, and of the vndigestable dislike conceiued by the subiects of such their misgouerning and abusing superiority. Besides, I must prevent him with an other Caueat, that neither the Romane, Turkish, nor any such Emperours will serue the turne, for instances in this case, because (to say nothing of their forceable acquirings for the most part of such their Imperiall seates) their deposing hath bin executed by strong hand, & rather by the fury of armed soldiers, than by any ordinary censure, or proceeding of Law or Iustice; much lesse is hee to alleadge or propound any patternes, wherein priuate or Phanaticall spirits, out of humor & for reuenge, reward, or glory, haue attempted or archieued the acts of Hostile, & bloody assault, vpon the liues and states of Soueraignes. Hee must (for very shame) forbear the mention of such, lest the may seem to *instare in causa*, by naming vnto vs either the French Monke, that for killing K. Henry of France, was by the Pope extolled with Elegies and Acclamations, or the English Monke, who of a deuotion to the Popish faction

faction, poysoned King *John* of *England*: yea, he might
so bring in diuers Popes & Cardinals, that haue in such
good zeale destroyed and made away Princes and Em-
perors. I am yet to curb him a little shorter, I must take
from him, his discourfing vaine of mitigating, and blan-
ching the matter, in a disguise of some selected phraſes,
whereby hee intendeth to aduantage himſelfe. For ex-
ample, when we are at this iſſue, whether there hath e-
uer beene in any Common-wealth, any ſufficient Au-
thoritie left by God, and Nature, for the lawfull and or-
derly depoſing of Princes, hee inferreth the reſſing
of euils, euen in the higheſt perſons, ſo that when hee
ſhall bee put to it, and the weight of his vndertakings is
likely to breake his backe, or his braine; then will hee
take the benefite of this ſhift, of reſſing of euils e-
uen in the higheſt, and rather then faile of matter, tell
vs a ſtale tale of the *Ephori*, or *Tribuni*, and ſuch like
politike Conſtitutions tendering the liberties, or ſafety
of the people, againſt the cruell oppreſſions, or en-
crochments of the mightie placed in Authoritie: nei-
ther is it yet my mind at this time, againſt the vniuerſall
affirmatiue of all Countries, all Philoſophers, &c. or
the Decrees of Law-makers, or the ſage ſayings of
Senatoriſall States-men, or the Reports and Obser-
uations of Hiſtoriographers, Poets, and Orators,
importing and proouing the trueth of our contra-
diction.

All the worthy Sentences and examples in Au-
thours of beſt account, either expreſſing the excel-
lencie, and Maieſtie of Soueraigntie, or the obedi-
ence and ſubmiſſiue demeanour of Subiects, are ap-
plyable to this Theame, and would eaſily bee wrought,

and as it were, embroydered into the contexture of a Treatise vpon this Subiect. To that which resteth in this Assertion, auouching that G O D and Nature hath left sufficient Authoritie in euery Common-wealth,&c. I pleade ignorance of his meaning, not vnderstanding (except hee meaneth the Creation, in which sense hee should haue said, God in Nature, or by Nature) how God should leaue or institute any such authoritie, but by his reuealed word. I trust hee will not obtrude vnto vs, any long concealed or closeted Tradition, or any iuggling trick of Reuelation, and vnwritten Veritie, wherewith the Christian world hath beene so notoriously coufined; and I am sure, that in the written Law of God, there is not any fillable sounding so harshly (or rather horribly) as to giue any order or rule, to dispoyle Princes of their Diadems, or to depose the Anoynted of God. Now for Nature, if shee haue any part in the frame and workemanship of the publique body of the State, as shee hath in the particular and naturall bodies of men, certainly shee hath allowed the like right to the Head of the Common-wealth, as shee hath done to the head of this fleshly Fabricature. Doeth not the inferiour members, patiently, and without repugnance, beare all the offences and surcharges, descending vpon them from the head? Is there in Nature any so much as desire (much lesse meanes) of remoouing or repressing of the Head? I acknowledge that Medicines are often applyed for the curing of the griefes and diseases of the Head, but what more ready course is either deuised in Physicke, or assented vnto by Nature, for the cure of
the

the infirmities and faults of the head, then to vnload the annoyances thereof vpon the subiected parts of the body? Will you examine another degree of the operation of Nature? Next vnto the body it selfe, is the issue and off-spring of the bodie, what bounds of dutie hath nature made of the children towards the Father? Hath shee left any such Law or libertie, that in any respects the childe may renounce or disclaime his parents? yea, though the father should (as oft as out of iudgement hee doth) cast off or disinherite his sonne? Let vs now but applyingly remember, that the Prince is *Pater Patria*, the Father of the Countrey; then will our cogitations aptly accommodate this similitude in Nature, vnto the dutious dependancy of the Subject vpon the person of the Soueraigne, with a true naturall relation and recognition of all loue and obedience, hauing from nature (out of the resemblance of these two paternes) no other Law, then *parendi & patiendi*. Where shall we find more representatiue obedience of Natures intentions and operations, then in these originals and fountaines of Loue? Then from what *stepdames* milke hath hee sucked this impuritie of opinion, That Nature hath left some sufficient authoritie in euery Common-wealth for the repressing &c. I will not deny but that there be some axioms of Reason, ingrauen in our nature, which perhaps (being not rightly vnderstood) hath occasioned this imputation and slander against Nature, *Omnis natura est conservatrix sui quisque sibi melius vult quam alteri, ferre nequimus eum qui infert iniuriam*, and the like; which

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which as they argue a sense and sting in Nature, to vpholde our owne welfare, to feede our owne humour, to further our owne desires, to hate our enemies and wrong doers; so they must admit the brideling limitation and exposition of reason, which also Nature hath giuen to rule the rest, that all the foresayd priuate, and indiuiduall respects, must haue no place in the question of our naturall obligation to Superiours, as Fathers, and of our naturall vnion in the communitie of humane Societie: for the preservation whereof, Nature hath ordeined Gouvernment, and the Soueraigntie thereof to bee sacred and inuiolable. The want of vpright consideration heereof, hath oftentimes been cause of precipitation in vntempered and ill gouerned natures, when seeking to serue their owne purposes in matters of affection or faction, they will easily make pretences of wrong to become auengers thereof against whatsoeuer lawfull authoritie.

There bee too many such combinations in all Countreys, wherein euery Sect or side (with intention to aduaunce that part whereunto it is assisted) doth dreame of these redresses and representations of their opposites, extending their strength, and endeauour euen to the highest persons. Such actions or pretences haue no more ground in Nature, then if any adulterer should maintaine his fault by the naturall pronenesse of appetite; The Thiefe by the naturall instinct of providing necessary reliefe; or the Murtherer, by the naturall desire and sweetnesse of reuenge:

But

(21) But we stand assured, that whatsoever nature by her
vncorrupted rules, doth induce or perswade vs vnto,
touching our duties in Morall actions, the same, as it
was written by the finger of God, in the heart of man,
as the Creation, so was it also reduced, and comprised
by the Wisedome of God, into the Tables of the Mo-
rall Law, in the which for as much, as we haue an ex-
presse commandement, of honor and obedience to go-
uernors that must remaine fixed in our hearts, to hold
vs firme in the Bond of allegiance: Then let P. R. and
all his conjoynd Catholikes, (as hee vaunteth) make it
plaine vnto vs, that eyther Nature hath implanted, or
the Commandements of God haue enioyned, the re-
pressing or deposing of such Princes, vppon any excep-
tions, surmizes, or accusations whatsoever: As for the
Law of Nations, because that is but secondary and de-
rivatiue, from the other, what hath beene averred of the
one, holdeth the same respect and certainty, as doth
the roote it selfe, from whence it issueth, yet before wee
depart from this Argument of Natures working, I
haue to note that this cunning and curious Composer
of Bookes, and Contriuier of cases, doth in this his
chiefe proposition, worke himselfe quite out of the
question, and putteth the Pope cleane out of the doores,
for the question being of the power of the Pope, that
is of the power, authority, and iurisdiction of a Forraigne
Commander, and Iudge, he telleth vs, that God and
Nature hath left some sufficient authority in euery Com-
mon-wealth, &c. which directly maketh the Popes pre-
eminency with vs altogether needelesse, and a very
nullity, (as by his owne sayings) and that more agree-
able to reason, there is sufficient authority within the
Land,

Land, (not requiring any his intrusions or usurpations) to the governing of that body, which is of it selfe complete and lauseth by the vigor, spirit, and powerfull operation of his owne soule, his lawfull Soueraigne. This is the first (as touching the first reason, drawne from the Law of Right of Nature, or Nations) either left out by him, or cast out by me, from repressing of Princes, or reigning himselfe within these our Countries, or Territories.

The second reason bringeth a better Commission, that will make way through all repugnances, it is enforced in the name and authority of Christ himselfe, and it is thus: "chayned together for Impregnable strength, Christ was appointed to Common wealth of Christians in a farre more perfection, then other states had before been established, subjecting temporal things to spiritual, and appointing a Supreme Vniuersall gouernour in the same, with a generall charge to looke to all his sheepe, without exception of great or small, people, or Potentates. Therefore hee inferreth that the Supreme care, iudgement, direction, and censure, of the matter in question, was left by Christ vnto the sayd Supreme Gouernour or Pastor of his Church, and Common-wealth. But it was doubted whether this power was committed to the supreme Pastor directly, and immediately, or indirectly, and by consequence. The Canonists out of the Commission vnto St. Peter, *Pascere oues meas*, do hold the direct and immediate authority, charge, and oversight, in temporalities. The Catholike Diuines vpon whom the brunt and pressure by others, must be layed, haue thought it later, to chuse the indirect and consequential, which they expresse in this

“this manner: When the government of spirituall af-
 “faires, is impugned by any temporall Governours; so
 “as the sayd spirituall Commission, cannot be execu-
 “red without redresse or remedy, then and in such cases,
 “the said Supream Pastor, is to haue authority to pro-
 “ceede against the temporall governours; Also, for the
 “defence and preservation of his spirituall charge, but
 “both parts fully are agreed, that there is such authority
 “left by Christ in his Church, for remedy of vrgent cau-
 “ses, otherwise he should not haue sufficiently provided
 “for the necessity thereof.

Here is goodly building of Castles in the ayre; Castles
 did I say? Nay, of the Tower of *Babell*, in the steede of
 the City of *G. o. n.* Christ (sayth hee) was to found his
 Common-wealth of Christians, in farre more perfection
 then other states, &c. why Christs intentions, erections
 and perfections were all to saue sinners, and to bring
 them vnto Heauen, what prooffe is this that hee was
 to found the Popish Hyerarchy, or the Antichristian
 Monarchy? and what is this farre more perfection, &c.
 Is it an outward pompe or power, to chayne and fetter
 Princes, vnder a temporall obedience of a spirituall Vfur-
 per? What is this same subjecting of temporall things to
 spirituall, is it to make a Minister or Bishop of Heauenly
 matters, tyrannous and rampant, ouer the temperall
 states, setting their imperiall seete vppon the neckes of
 Lyons and Dragons? what is the nature, end, and emi-
 nency, of the spirituall Kingdome of Christ, is it any
 other then the Preaching of the Gospell, the way of sal-
 uation, and the possessing of euerlasting life? Then what
 straightnesse, what extractions, doth the Limbeckes of
 their braines (bewitched with temporall vanities) make

of a worldly rule, and Dominion? He was to appoint one Supream and Vniuersall Governour, &c. we on the other side constantly denying this their principle, doe easily bring them to the end of their wits; yet wee will pocket vp one confession in this place, which hee is likely to forsake, and not acknowledge another time: In more perfection (sayth hee) then other States had before beene established, acknowledging thereby, that vnder the Law, and in the old Testament, the temporall was not subject to the spirituall.

Hath hee not well collected and concerted his propositions to bring out this grand conclusion of superiority ouer Princes? doth he not neede a distinction of prooffe, so make these parts that cleaue like sand to hold together, against the breach which wee are to make vpon him? His distinction of direct, or indirect, shalbe directly auoyded and his great Mace, which hee beareth vp in his March of state, of *Ordine ad Deum* must bee directed and ordered to a better sence; and his commission of *Pasce*, shall bee examined how farre it can authorize him to assume the pretended power: If hee will but thanke me for it, I will befrend him a little with my directions: I will chalke him out his way, with a straight line, by the which hee must be brought and passe along, if he desireth to come right vpon the conclusion.

I will distribute his journey into seuerall baytings, or repotes, otherwise called common places: I doubt it will procure a long labour, and very troublesome to carry his commission along with him, hee is like to venture himselfe in many straights, and hazardable passages, and will be often stayed by the Kings Watch, but more often foundred by the rubs, and roughnesse of the way, which he

hee is to walke through: He must begin and set forth at this poynt.

1 That Christ purposing to found his Commonwealth of Christians in farre more perfection &c. hath appoynted the same to be an absolute Monarchy, vnder one supreme and vniuersall Governour, visible, eminent, and knowne as the head on earth, in all causes of Christs kingdome.

2 Next who that individuall person is, whom Christ appointed to be such a Monarchie, and by what commission is he assigned thereunto, and by what words thereof can he challenge the obedience of all the subiects or Christians in that Commonwealth?

3 Whether if St. Peter be affirmed to be the said Monarchie, what can be alledged for his Superiority, that is not equally communicable to the rest of the Apostles, ioyntly or severally, by the like authorizement?

4 Whether St. Peter was more especially appointed the chiefe Apostle for both Jewes and Gentiles; If for the Jewes, how came it, that St. Paul reproved him for misleading the Jewes? If for the Gentiles, why was St. Paul by a publike consent and Counsell nominated to be the Apostle of the Gentiles, who at Rome planted the Church, and from whom the succession is most proper.

5 Whether St. Peter ever came at Rome? sith there is evident demonstration by computing the times and places of his abode, during his life after Christs ascension, that he could not be there at all by any coniecture, as by the Epistles of St. Paul is evicted.

6 Allowing that St. Peter was at Rome, was he not there as an Apostle and so no more appropriate to that place then to the whole world?

15 Being an Apostle, how came he to be chosen, yea the vniuersall Pastor over both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*? except such his Pastorship were rather Apostolical than Episcopall? If his successors were Apostolically, then all the Apostles had intrest therein as well as he: If Episcopall, did he renounce or relinquish his Apostleship to erect a new State or estate of an vniuersal Bishop, neuer mentioned in the Scripture, and of a larger extent and dominion than the Apostleship, and by what warrant and authoritye did he so?

16 If he did found any such Episcopall eminencie vniuersall over all the Churches of the world, and that invested in his owne person, why may it not be thought, that such his Episcopall function was settled vpon him rather at *Antioch*, where his chiefest abode was (after his departure from *Ierusalem*) than at *Rome*?

17 Whether in case he preferred *Rome* before *Antioch*, *Ierusalem* and other places, (whereof there is no apparant proofe or certainty) is that successive seate established at *Rome*, of the like and the same power, vertue, and veritie, as was conferred on his owne person?

18 Whether such supposed Incession were afixed to the place, or applied to the persons?

19 Whether if the succession were applied to the place, was it not cut off and discontinued when there was no vniuersall Bishop resident at *Rome*? which for some hundredth of yeares after Christ, and since the usurpation Papall for a long time together hath come to passe?

20 If the succession were in the persons, did not the abominable wickednes of life, or the open profession of *Atheisme*, *Arianisme*, *Coniuration*, and contradicting with the Deuill, damnable doctrines of all sorts, and hereticall

positions,

obedience; which is maintained by such persons, yea in their
 Cathedra; dissolve the said succession and what shall can
 they make for Pope *clame*, whose stay standeth unreformed?
 - *21* More when he must tell me what became of this
 succession; and where that Common wealth of Christi-
 ans (as they will needs call it) that they may make them-
 selves cognate to what his men) could finde there one su-
 preme and vniuersall Governour, when there were so o,
 three hundred such vniuersall Pastors at once? *22*
 - *23* 40 Yet he hath not done questioning with him; This
 great satisfaction of doubt must resolve us how it cometh
 to pass that the Grecian, *Armenian, Russian, Arabian,*
and other Churches, whose Church has been made
 acquainted with this fundamentall part of doctrine; that
 Christ hath ordained the Bishop of Rome the supreme
 and vniuersall Pastor of the whole Common wealth of
 Christians, which hath framed and founded *81*
 - *24* the said succession to himselfe for an answer to
 another question; of which the successors of St. Peter
 (were it once agreed to oppose) who they were; *25*
Armenian, Armenian, or Arabian; did ever hold or ex-
 ercise any derivation of authority from St. Peter or *82*
 and other Apostles that survived St. Peter in the Church;
 or did they or any of them sturle for Superiortie with
 them, yet rather did they not yield vnto them?
 - *26* 6 Besides; this deepelying determination in Divinity
 doubts, must take into his consideration what warrant is
 of any lawfull vocation, election, and ordination; the succe-
 ding Bishops of Rome can avow or maintain, that no man
 may take on him any spiritual ministry or function but in
 due regard and vniuersall manner. And whether such their
 calling to their Ministeriall offices; and Pastoral charge;
 were

were ordinary, or extraordinary; the difference in the admissions and choyce of such Bishops which sometimes was by substitution of the proceeding Bishop, sometimes by election of the people, and in later times by the suffrages of Cardinals; and sometimes by meere intrusion, giveth cause to move this question.

17 What reasons can be pretended or alledged, why if both Christ and St. Peter intended the succession of Bishops onely in that Sea of Rome, that there hath new Titles been taken up, of Patriatke first, and then of Supreme head of the Church, and then of Papa or Pope, which seemeth to inferre an alteration, or else an augmentation of the power or charge first conferred by Christ or St. Peter vpon that Sea? and for consequently a question, whether the latter diuised Titles be likewise authorized from Christ?

18 Doth it not behoue that this so pregnant a Patron of Papacy, doe clear all causes touching the interruption and discontinuance of the supposed succession of Popes; wherof (some having before bene propounded) it shall not be amisse to cast him one bone more, to whet his teeth or witte vpon. I would know whether (after canons, and constitutions made by his Holinesse, and ratified by Councells, touching the lawfull election, and admittance of the Bishop of Rome) if a Pope enter vnduly, and contrary to such orders and Canons, by simony, bribery, faction, yea with strong hand, or any other corrupt courses, may notwithstanding be held and reputed a lawfull Pope? and the acts by him done, the camalls by him made, and the decrees or transactions of his time, shall bee adiudged as to stand in the right of Christs Vicar on earth? Are not in such cases, the linkes of

of the chaine tying together the succession broken, or let loose sith in the particulars (in whom the same should be continued) such elections and ordinations, are adjudged intrusions and vsurpations, yea vtterly voyde and very nullities?

19 Yet I must make him a little more worke with other questions, what is the cause that for so long a space of 600. yeares after Christs Assention, this position of the Romish Supremacy, and vniuersall head-ship, (if it were so eident and demonstratiue from Christs owne appointment, as this bold bragger would haue vs to beleue) was neither by the Fathers of the Primitiue Church, nor by any generall Councels, approoued or ratified.

20 I am disposed to offer him another objection like a blocke to stumble at, which neuer any Papist yet well passed ouer, but he brake his shin against it; and that is the opinion and censure of *Gregory the great*, Bishop or rather *Patriarke of Rome*, how did hee inuey against that tytle of vniuersall Bishop, as an arrogant stile, calling *Iohn Patriarke of Constantinople*, the fore-runner of Antichrist for assuming of such a title or authority: may it not stagger this stout Champion of Popery to heare from the mouth of a successor of *St. Peter*, such a detestation of that stile, as Antichristian, which is auouched to haue beene the ordinance of Christ, yet did *Bonifacius* that succeeded him, ambitiously affect and accept the very same appellation giuen to him from *Phocas* the Emperour 600 yeares after Christ, as is sayd before.

21 Here, if I should let in vpon him a sea of proofes, that the Pope is clearely convicted to be not a fore-runner (as *Gregory* speakes) but the very same Antichrist

described by so many particularities in *Daniel* the Apocalips, in *St. Paul* and other places of the Holy Scripture, he would neuer be able to scape drowning, but would be so over-whelmed in those depthes, that hee could neuer more get forth, yea, or stirre either hand or foote, for his swimming to any shore, and the great disputant could then hold his breath no longer in this question euen sinking downe to the bottome after all his strength spent in vaine, by struing to hold vp his head.

22 Now, to draw to the issue in hand, wee must trouble him to make manifest vnto vs, what is the true extent of this so high power and vniuersall charge in *St. Peter*, or any other his successors, and whether the same do include any temporall iurisdiction, and entermedling in civill causes, to the deciding, iudging, or ordering thereof?

23 Lastly, to bring him home to his rest, and to the ground whereupon hee must reare his foundation, hee must euide by prooffe, that the Supream, Vniuersall, Roman, Bishop, by force or tenor of any Commission giuen by Christ, and transferred vnto *St. Peter*, and so diuiniuely and successiuelly conueyed ouer to him, may censure, iudge, or depose Princes, taking vpon him the decision of Regall rights, assaying of Subiects from obedience, animating at home rebellion are from abroad invasion, and that vnder pretext of aduancing of the Ecclesiasticall regiment of soules, and the good of Catholike Religion.

This is the highest ladder of the Popes eminency, to the which exaltation, hee cannot otherwise assend then by these staires and steps, before rehearsed, which must lead.

lead him vp to his lofty consistoriall Chayre: If any of these stayres bee loose and faile him, hee falleth vnreco-uerably, and shall neuer bee able to assume the power, which hee pretendeth himselfe to bee lawfully possessed of. But when of all these exceptions and interruptions cast in his way, hee can cleare or assure not any one, his presumption in taking so much vpon him, will but argue his all daring boldnesse; and his striking close to the conclusion, when the premises runne another way will make euen Children to scoffe at the want of judgement in his so great vndertakings.

By these few indissoluable questions (amongst infinite others) for all the world knoweth what a world of doubts, and what a sea of controuersies, is encompassed in this cause. This *P. R.* or rather *R. P.* (if hee would be better knowne) that would seeme to bee so iudicious in his resolues, and so modest and moderate in his assertions, might haue beene put in minde to stay his confidence in concluding so *Magistraliter*, that case, with his peremptory *est amen*, which hath so many stopps, windings, and euen breake-necked passages, as hath hetherto perplexed, and plunged the whole Alphabet of their owne Authors.

By that time, that he hath runne through the explication and prooffe of the particuler difficulties before propounded, hee will somewhat slacke, the heate of his audacious affirmations, and to let him know that this poynt, (as wee now propound it and debate it) is not amongst the Catholike wrighters themselues, so clearely and generally agreed vpon as hee avoucheth (for hee sayth) that in this there is no difference of opinion, or beleefe in any sort of Catholikes whatsoever, (so they bee

Catholikes) I must remember him (if hee forget not his owne name, yea and his nick-names too,) that in the bitter contentions, and fiery conflicts, betweene the Priests and the Iesuites, a principall matter of their variance was this, That the Priests vtterly condemned this Turbulent, and Sedicious opinion of the Iesuites.

That the Pope might and ought to intermeddle in the temporall rights and preheminencies of Princes, and that he had a powre to depose and deiect them at his pleasure. Doth not *William Watson* the Priest in his booke of *quidlibets* bestow a whole Chapter with much earnestnes of spirit, and variety of arguments, vpon this very subiect, making in the same this R. P. the object of his scorning and reuilings? Doth he not in many places of that worke impute all the causes of the many troubles and extremities which they vndergoe in *England* to the violent spirits, and treacherous practizings of the *Iesuites*, who neglecting or despising the Ministeriall function, are become meere Statists, and negotiating factors of the Sea of *Rome*, disturbing the quiet of all Countreyes where they be entertained, and working wicked stratagems and damnable devices against Sovereigne Princes? Hath hee so soone forgotten, or can hee so bo'd'y dissemble, in what sort the said Priests vncafed and discovered him for his many notorious and scandalous intermedlings in State-affaires? Perhaps he will say that they be no Catholikes, for so he enterposeth (if they be Catholikes) he dareth not to lop away at once so many chiefe limbs, so many strong armes, yea such stocks and plants of the popish religion, though the said Priests doe not feare or spare to affirme, that the *Iesuites* are not any certaine order or vocation
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in the Church, being rather to be reckoned (as their vse and imployment is) to be Lay-men, States-men, busie-bodies, pragmaticall agents beyond all limits of any spirituall calling) yet it is necessary, (if he will *constare sibi*) to stand to it, that (seeing they vary from him, in this part of doctrine) they be no Catholikes, because in this refusing and refuting of his Majesties distinction of the difference of Papists, he expressly affirmeth, that he that holdeth not all and every Article assented vnto and established in the Church, he is not to be accounted Catholike, according to St. *Augustine*. *Catholicam* is consered to be *secundum totam*, and not *secundum partem*, I will leaue the Priests to defend that they be better Catholikes then he, notwithstanding this discrepance and my selfe will revert to the parting place where occasion was taken to make this digression.

There is offered for plea the words of the institution, and the very authentical enstallment made by Christ himselfe, *Pasce oves meas*, which words include (say they) according to Catholike exposition, not only authority to feede, but to governe also, direct, restraime, cure, repress, and correct when neede is. Allow that these words doe appoint and institute a pastorall charge (which is a geminall vnderstanding thereof) yet such charge is not thereby more appropriate to *Peter*, then to other Apostles, but if they so far tender out the same, to make them beget vnto vs a Pastor, of Pastors, a Bishop, of Bishops, a supream and soveraigne governor of the whole Church, I may not yeeld their logick such libertie, as to conclude so vneconsequently.

Againe allow that in this commission and charge every Pastor were required not only to instruct the sheepe

of his fold with wholesome doctrine of faith, but also to have an eye to their life and conversation to reprove them, admonish them, and censure them with ecclesiasticall discipline, what is that to the governing in secular affaires, or to the claime of such an vnlimmited power by the Popes intrusion? I may not yeelde to their Rhetoricke, such a preuayling or perswading power, as that where they cannot shape so much as a shadow, there they shall erect and create the true substance, of a more then Monarchiall principallity: It is heere auouched, that Catholike exposition includeth within this worde, *Pasce* the commission of gouerning also.

Therefore many Catholikes that will rather hazard the exclusion of his (if they bee Catholikes) then they will condescend to this interpretation. A graue and profound Catholike, one of the pillars of papacy, Cardinall *Baronius* being to animate and confirme his Holinesse proceedings, against the *Venetians* for their great sinne, of executing Iustice, against men of clericall habit, in causes criminall, and ciuilly punishable, passed ouer this Text of *Pasce*, as not sufficiently seruing the turne, to prooue the Popes right of iurisdiction in such temporall affaires; and thereuppon interpreting and applying the same restrictiuely, to the teaching function, made choyce of a fitter peece of Scripture, to accommodate vnto that case, and to put into the Popes hand, for the justification of that excesse of his authority: Hee maketh the office of St. *Peter* to be two-fold, the first of feeding and teaching, comprised in the word, *Pasce*, the other of correcting, and chastising contayned in the words of Christ, vsed in the vision of the beasts presented to *Peter*,

Peter, *occide et manduca*, kill and eate: You ſee that hee was content to leaue that leane and pining application of *Paſce*, and to finde out a more ſtinging Text, that might pierce to the very quicke of the cauſe, doth not this ſame (*occide et manduca*) giue authority to draw blood, putting the Sword into his Holineſſe hand, to execute at his will and pleaſure, ſuch as hee ſhall recon, Beaſts without exception of great and ſmall, people or potentates, Is it not made evident thereby that all ſorts of people whatſoever, cleane or vn-cleane, high or low, friend or foe, are as it were tyed and bundled vp together, and ſo ſubiected and abiected at his feete, to feed vpon, and ſatiate his devouring appetites? It maketh no matter for the proper ſenſe of the text, (figuring and ſignifying *Jew*, or *Gentile*) the wreſt and ſtreine thereof ſerveth beſt to his purpoſe, cutting even to the core of this queſtion.

Old Father *Barronius* in his dreame, eſpied more then young *S. Peter* could apprehend by viſion: He hath found and inferred out of that place, that which *St. Peter* if hee lived to this day (except his ſucceſſors did teach him) could never have geſſed at, the Excommunication, and further degradation of States and Soueraignes. In the ſame his encouraging advice to his Holineſſe (which I rather recount, becauſe it ſo evenly matcheth with their moderne divinity) hee ſtirreth vp the fainting ſpirit of the Pope with a *Memento te poſitum eſſe in Petram*, Remember that thou art placed for Rocke, whoſever ruſheth againſt thee ſhall be cruſhed all to peeeces. Therefore where his Holineſſe layeth a heauey hand to his fulminating cenſures, there no reſiſtance, reſcue, or reliefe, can a-vaile to defend from deſtruction. For this Propheſie is

as fitly appliable to the Vicar of Christ, as it was directly and properly referred to Christ himselfe.

Thus this learned Cardinall bestowed vpon his Holinesse as he were the very image and character of Christ vpon earth the self-same attribute, and exaggeration vsed in scripture, to set forth the might and dignity of our redeemer. Nay further, hee will needs comfort the Pope with the application of that to his person in perticuler, which Christ assured to his whole Church in generall, that the gates of hell shall not preuaile against him, and will earthly Princes then presume to shut his Holinesse out of doores? Hee that hath a power over Hell it selfe, shall not he commaund and over-rule the earth? These beeing the proude and prophane conceits which they haue of that Idoll of *Rome* (their imagined Lieutenant of Christ) they draw not only from the Spouse of Christ the rich ornaments of her glory to deck that bewitching Harlot with, but also hold it no robbérie, to enrobe the man of sinne with the gracefull and blessed titles of the Sonne of God, for which so Luciferian and blasphemous arrogatings, I doubt it will not be made good and verified, that the gates of hell shall not be shut against him. I must confesse, that I like better of the simplicitie of our mitigator, in misliking vpon the poore probability of reason picked out of the word (*Pasce*) and that rather by a consequence, then by any direct induction, then I doe of the affected and vnserchable subtilty of this Cardinall, and some others, who studying for vnwonted straynes, and forcings, doe cast beyond the Moone to magnifie or dignifie his Holinesse above the Sunne, I will be bold to set downe some more of these deepe digged and far-serched arguments, not with any purpose to vouchsafe them

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any time, or paines for answer, but euen to admire, if not exclaime at the impious and presumptuous absurdity, of such their so frivolous and most strange inferences; Pope *Bonifacius* the eight (that layd the first stone of this *Babylonian* building) out of the words of Christ vnto his Disciples, in the twenty two of *St. Luke* (they sayd vnto him, behold here are two Swords, Christ answered it is sufficient.)

By these two Swords (sayth *Boniface*) Christ meaneth the spirituall and temporall, both the which are left by our Saviour, for the defence and preservation of his Church; and because there would be no order, but mutiny, tumult, and confusion, if these swords should not well agree, therefore there must needes be employed, and intended by Christ, a subjection, and subalteration of the one sword vnto the other, and both depending vpon one Supream Command.

From this supposed authority of Christs leauing and recommending both Swords vnto his Church, *Boniface* tooke vpon him the power of both Swords, and caused to be passed as an Article of Faith that the Pope is supream, ouer both estates, spirituall and temporall; and shortly after in a *Iubile*, publikly shewed himselfe, with a key in one hand, and a sword in the other.

And that hee may the better maintaine, the taking of the sword, hee further argueth, that one of the swords, was his prodeceffors *St. Peters* sword, (it being well knowne that *Peter* had a sword, be-

cause Christ sayd vnto him put vp thy sword (shall I neede to make any refutation of this collection, or assertion? being declared not as positive out of the word, but expository, by a sence which the Pope assumeth? Let me yet gather vp this note by the way, that it was good fortune, that Christ did command *St. Peter* to put vp his sword, else perhaps the sharpenesse and weight thereof, had long since light vppon the heads, and neckes of Princes, as well as it cut off the eare of *Malchus*: for the same pretence which occasioned him to draw vppon *Malchus* in rescue and maintainance of his Maister Christ might incite the high courages of his supposed successors to bee as active with their blades and forces, for the support and furtherance (as they alledge) of the Christian faith and religion, impugned, or impeached by temporall Potentates. I would now know of Maister P. R. whether hee accounteth the exposition and decree of *Bonifacius* the Pope, to bee Catholike and Orthodoxall, if hee doe not, wee also will take (by his example) the like liberty of acceptance or dislike in any the Articles of Faith, concluded and adiudged by his Holinesse: If hee doe, then what neede hee bee so slye and mistrustfull in affirming the same Doctrine, absoluerh also, without any distinctions and cooling quallifications, as if hee were either ashamed of confession or afraid of conviction? when hee hath such an argument *ab authoritate* to a rest him to stand vnto it? Why should hee (I say) runne about the bush, with a Commission direct and indirect, when

when hee cannot but know that *Bonifacius* was resolute in opinion, that his power over Princes, and in temporallities was absolute without any oblique consequence, or respectiue dependency, jumping therein plainly, and fully with the Canonists, *Papa est Dominus totius orbis directe in temporatibus*. How would this so well tempered and timorous mitigator bee brought to iustifie the hautinesse of Pope *Clament* the fifth, successor to *Bonifacius*, who not satisfied with the rule and command ouer temporall and earthly states, did brauely adventure, by his papall Bull, expressely to enioyne, and command Angels to execute his will: Me thinketh I should aske him also whether hee will hold consonancy of iudgement with his owne Country-man, and good friend the renowned Cardinall *Allen*, who in his Appology for the English Catholikes, out of the miraculous working of *St. Peter* mentioned in the fifth of the *Acts*, of sentencing to suddaine death *Ananias* and *Saphira*, doth no lesse miraculously wring out this great Ministry of excommunicating, censuring, and other proceedings against Princes.

There is no parcell of Scripture wherein any mention is made of *St. Peter*, but if it can be racked to afford them any patterne or patronship for either their deedes or decrees, it is miserably torne, and tormented to vndergoe that service: Not so much as the power of Keyes; but it must needes bee made a picke-locke, to possesse prisons, Castles, and Towers: The Key of knowledge for the sauing of

foules, is turned to a Key of powre to deprive Princes, the binding and loosing of sinnes, is but a very legerdemaine of fast and loose at the Popes pleasure, the fishing for men to bring them to eternall life, is made a pretence for spreading his nets, to catch and conquer whole States and Dominions: The Pastorall Sheep-hooke, subdueth Kingly Shep-
ters, Saint Peters Aurum & argentum non habeo, doth now glitter in all the pompious and copious variety of riches, and the promise of Christ, *Dabo tibi claves regni calorum* is not so much esteemed, as the offer of the Devill, *Dabo tibi &c.* All these things will I gine thee, if thou wilt fall downe and worship mee.

If the Pope will needs enjoy a right of succession of all that Christ sayd vnto Saint Peter, let him not refuse also (Get thee behinde mee Sathan,) and, O thou of little faith. Nay, the denying of Christ, so expressly imitated in the declining, degenerating, and sliding away from the sinceritie of the Gospell, is apparently branded vpon this Antichristian iniquity, where Saint Peters either example, or precept, fitteth not their turnes, there they will not vse, or rather cannot relieve it, and could be well pleased that it were put over to their *Exponctorum* his charge and admonition, that they subiect themselves vnto all manner of ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be vnto the King, as vnto the Superior, or vnto Governours,

as sent of him for the punishment of evill doers,
and for the prayse of them that doe well.

And likewise his beseeching of the Elders, as
his fellow Pastors, that they feede the flocke not ^{1. Pet. 5.}
as Lords over Gods Heritage, will not fashion to,
or cohere with their owne proude doctrines of
exemption from Temporall Authoritye, of opug-
ning and repressing Princes, of their Lordlinesse
over their fellow-Ministers, of their desisting from
Teaching and Preaching, and of Saint *Peters* Pri-
macy to reare vp the Romane Papacy. And there-
fore must be censured, interpreted, distinguished,
abridged, and limited, by such curtelings, and con-
siderings, as the glosser or goulse of the Sea of *Rome*
shall devise for the best advantage. In the like man-
ner doe they all so deale with Christ himselfe,
whom whence they fetch and found the originall
of theyr lineally derived Popedome. Christ pro-
fessed himselfe, and so instructed his Disciples, to
bee humble and meeke, but how doth the Pope
tread that path? not so much in the exercise of his
owne Lowlinesse, or in the abstinence from high
state and loftye cariage, as in the depreessing of the
mightynesse and power of Lawfull Soveraignes,
reducing or enforcing them to be meeke indeede,
in a degree of base and contemptible humilia-
tion.

III Christ refused to be made a Iudge in a Civill or
Temporall cause, the Pope maketh himselfe Iudge
of any debates, that by any pretext can be concei-

ved to be fit for his cognizance: Christ bad, Giue vnto Cæsar that which was Cæsars: The Pope rob- beth Cæsar, of his treasure, of his honor, of his po- wer, of his rights, and of his subiects. Christ de- clareth his kingdome not to be of this world, the Pope (besides his owne Temporall Soveraignty, will haue an Oare, and command in all the States of Christendome. In which part, of the Temporall kingdome of Christ in this life, *P. R.* is much cum- bered, and put to his shift, to finde out an even cut- ting distinction, to saue the repugnancye of Christs sayings. The Canonists, and some other Catho- likes, out of these words, All power is given vnto mee in Heauen and in Earth, doe conclude, that besides his Spirituall government of our Soules, he hath a kingly Dominion also vppon our bodies and goods, and vppon all the Kingdomes of the earth, and might iustly haue exercised all actions, of temporall iurisdictions, as casting into prison, appoynting new Offices, Kings, and great Mo- narckes.

Marke how they compell our Saviour Iesus Christ to sallogize against himselfe? All power is giuen to mee in Heauen and in Earth, but my Kingdome to bee of this World is such a power, *Ergo*, my Kingdome is of this same World.

“ Now obserue also his witty and substantiall
 “ reconcilment, hee had a Kingly temporall po-
 “ wer in this life, but hee renounced the vse and
 priui-

“ priuiledge of the same: Or thus, hee had no
“ direct Dominion vppon temporall things,
“ yet indirectly, for preservation of his spiri-
“ tuall Dominion hee had and might haue v-
“ sed the same, and in that sence left it to his
“ successour: Is not this most shamelesse, and
“ direct abusing of Christ, and his most Sa-
“ cred Word? When hee sayd at another
time, that the Foxes had holes, and the Birds
of the Ayre had nests, but the Sonne of man,
had no place to hide his head: If these expo-
sitors had then beene knowne to his Apostles,
they would haue replyed; Sir, you haue places
of refuge, but you renounce the vse and pri-
uiledge thereof, or albeit you haue not any
place directly, yet indirectly for the necessi-
ty of your function, you haue all places at
your Command, or if you haue not in your
owne individuall person, yet in your Succes-
sors, you must needes haue, else how should
they maintayne the hauing and inhabiting of
such Royall and Magnificent edifices, where-
in they keepe such stately and more then impe-
riall Courts?

What is this else, then to tell Christ hee
wotteth not what hee sayth, and to enter him
like a Novice in their new Schooles of equi-
uocation, to learne their salacious mentall pre-
servations? But admit it to be incident into their
Offices, to interpret Christ as themselves listeth.

How

How doth it happen, that the rightfull successors of Christ doth not also succcede him in his modestye, humilitie, povertie, and meekenesse (especially beeing commaunded to learne of him) and so (in like sort as Christ did) renounce the vse and priuiledge of Temporall Power, or whence haue these successors their so plenarie and direct preheminence, when from Christ they could convey it but indirecally, and by consequence: Or can they make any demonstration or playne prooffe of the stint and circuite of time, at the periede or expiration whereof, that Temporall Dominion which in Christ was Indirect and Potentially, should become vnto the Pope, Direct, and Ordinary?

Or was there not as vrgent cause that Christ, (in respect of the many letts, impeachments, and impediments which he met withall) should for the preservation of his Spirituall Dominion, directly, or indirectly, in some sort or other, betake himselfe to his Temporall Authority? Except they will say, that hee was in his owne person militant and suffering, but in these his successors triumphant and glorious. Let mee then bee answered, Whether such a Succession hath any image or representation of that first type or patterne which sayde (Learne of mee.)

To

To manifest yet more discerningly, the idlenesse, the fraude, and vnfit applying of this distinction, let them know, that is not to be trusted vnto, because it will serue their aduersaries as well as themselves, for where the question may be propounded and disputed, whether temporall Princes may suppress or remooue Popes, (if the authorities alleadged out of Gods Word, and the Histories of the Church shall not suffice to giue in evidence for any such direct and vndoubted preheminance in Princes) then we may make bold of this their makeshift distinction, that Princes haue euer had such a power annexed, and proper to their governing charge, though they haue forborne the vse and preuiledge thereof, or that indirectly and by consequence (for the vpholding of their states, and keeping of their people in obedience, which by so many Popish practises is dayly perverted) they may and ought to exercise and execute the same.

Moreouer, let it be examined, how and from what originall this distinction draweth his pedigree, what bosome or heate did first hatch it, and what causes of weight doth still nourish and continue the same, Mr. P. R. hath fully acquainted vs with the certainty thereof. For if
 " Christ (sayth he) should not haue left such an authori-
 " ty in his Church for remedy of vrgent causes, hee
 " should not haue sufficiently provided for the necessity
 " thereof.

It is maruaile that this our Moderator, and mollifying Mittigator did not vse the word of conueniency, in the stead of necessity, to haue avoyded the disadvantage of the stricktnesse of that word, can there (concerning the substance, and stability of the Church) any more

H

vrgent

urgent causes to be imagined for the upholding thereof, then there was in the first times of the primitive purity? or is the usurping power of the supream Pastor, his overawing or overpeering of Princes, his correcting and repressing of them, by alienating subiects, and egging enemies against them any constitutive causes or essentiall necessities of the Church? I will not deny but that the height and eminency, wherevnto the Bishops of *Rome*, haue aspired, by encroching vpon the rights and vndermining the states of temporall Gouvernors, as indeede to be provided for, and maintayned by this presupposed necessity: But the purity, the poverty, the simplicity, the feruency, of the first fathers, and propagators of the faith and Church of Christ needed none of these humaine and worldly additaments, none of these temporall encountrings, or conflicting with Potentates, no such foreseeing perpetuations, to affront all occurring causes, nor any such politiciall circumventings, and fortifications for defence and offence against Princes: They conquered powers and principalities, but with the spirituall Armor of God, they beate vpon them with the hammer of the word, they cut deeply into the secrets of their soules, with the sword of the spirit they prayed for their peace, and prosperity, they embraced the very persecutions with obedience, and for the countenancing favours, (by giuing them respite from affliction, and the sunne shine of liberty) they honoured them as the nursing fathers of the Church, (when I contemplate the composute and frame of the Popish Monarchy, and the linking together of so many cunningly contrived positions, tending (all of them) to the encrease of gaine and advance of Honor to the Sea of *Rome*, I wish that some excellent Scholler extraordinarily endued would

would out of his many obseruations collected, exhibite vnto the world (in imitation of *Matthauell*, who made the shames and vices of the house of *Florence*, the patterne of a perfit Prince) this Antichrist of *Rome* as a true president of Tyranny and Vsurpation by publishing with an apt resemblance, as well the vilde and vnchristian practises, as also the false and pernicious articles, whereby he hath atchived so strange matters, and attained vnto so vnmeasurable greatnesse, which my desire is the more increased, the more I consider, how the webs of that worke, hath ensnared, if not enthralled Christian people, euen in the carriage of this controversie. I haue traced the foot-steps of many politicke reaches, and now in the closing vp of the matter, a faire traine is layd, to catch and lay hold vpon an easie follower, which we must not so suddenly passe by, as not to discern the sleight thereof, he speaketh plainly in honest and oylly words: That that authority temporal is to be moderated "by many perticularities to be considered, There must "be iust cause, graue and vrgent motives, formall proceedings, great deliberation, lawfull meanes, and other circumstances, to concurre, requiering great discretion; what a goodly displaying he maketh, in tearmes of the best shew, when yet (howsoeuer occasions shall alter their intentions) there is no more conteyned or propounded thereby, then what is vsually requisite in all Benches of Iustice, erected for tryall of common rights, But our question is, Whether the Pope be a competent Iudge, vpon or against Temporall Gouvernours, let the matter be caried neuer so presizely and circumspectly, that maketh him no title for enterposing his vsurped Authority. Therefore hee might well haue spared his

paines, in making this the third question which neither in this, nor any other iudiciall power is any question at all. But he conceived, that this orderly course and discreet carriage which hee would haue vs to presuppose in the Pope, would carry vs along in all conformity, to condescend to any his presumptuous and vsurping iurisdiction. Let him tell whether the publicke denunciation, or rather execration made euery Maundee Thursday against the Hereticks whatsoeuer, doth not also enwrap the Princes of our religion (especially if they haue made and executed seuerall lawes against the Popish) within the danger and rigor of that sentence, which it it do, then these flourishing and superfluous words, of the cognition of the cause, of due proceedings, of vrgent motiues, of aduised consultations, of lawfull meanes of preambles and circumstances are but snares to beguile the simple, seeing that his Holinesse (for the most part) after his solemnities, and ceremonies of Excommunication, both generally and personally, without the obseruing of the particularities. Beyond all this the pondering of such seuerall considerations, to whose brest, or trust are they recommended? are they not euery one wholly and absolutely in the Popes discretion? Let vs but remember the course of proceedings by these particularities, against our late Queene, his Holinesse tooke knowledge, as well by publicke fame, as by complayning relations, of the afflicted and distressed Catholikes, and of Queene *Elizabeths* hard usage of them in this Kingdome, there is the vrgent motive and importing cause, what were the consultations, what the meanes, and what the proceedings, a Bull of Excommunication publicly deprived her, of her Royall Dignity, setteth free her Subjects from their Allegiance,

legiance, enioyneth all Catholikes to endeavor her deposing, and so exposeth her to continuall Treasons, and bloody Assassimates; This is the short Epitome of this all presuming Papacy, Then let any other Prince take to himselfe the like scantling, by the measure offered to Queene *Elizabeth*, (bethinking himselfe whether the enumeration of so many good poynts, of aduisednes, and the cautilous respects fet forth by glosing words, may sufficiently secure him from feares and iealousies. One other doubt (of great consequence and preiudice) may much perplex Princes, which is the vndistinguished and vnlimited nature of the causes, triable by the Popes authority, for what cause can be supposed so meereley Ciuill, as hath not some mixture of cases in Conscience, and so to be referred in order to a spirituall end, becomming (as in that regard) of a spirituall cognizance. And then his Holinesse (holding himselfe onely in his owne element) beeing the supream Iudge in spirituall doubts, how extendable is the amplitude of his power to any manner of debates or variences, which (by complaint or appeale) vnder a colour of devotion or religion shall be presented to his holy decision? But the deadliest poyson that lyeth in the Dragons Tayle, is the disposition and ordination of the meanes, of giuing to such Popes Iudgements, the full blow of execution.

For where the spirituall blast of his indignation, is not much regarded, there (as the inferior rout of the Clergy, doth) his holinesse will not sticke to implore the ayde of the secular arme, be it forraine, be it domestically, be it directly for the same cause, or indirectly (I am in loue with that distinction) vpon the fore-plotted quarrells, be it by the sedicious tumult of insurrection, or by any priuate

audaciousnesse of adventure. Surely, when I consider the desperate attempts of some particular men, who abandoning all care or respect of themselves, and instigated onely with a seeming zeale of religion, do with violent hands of blood, enterprise the destruction of Princes. I am induced to belecue, that they have some direct Commission, or some indirect incitation so to compell and precipitate their ill governed mindes, into the horror of so vild an action: Nevertheless, I may not dissemble, that concerning any priuate exploits, in this kinde, they disclayme the approbation thereof; though I am well assured, that experience to the contrary doth make it manifest, that they dissemble. This authority (sayth this our satisfying mittigator) doth not onely not allow the wicked and vnlawfull attempts of priuate men, but also doth expressely and publickely condemne the same, as in the Councell of *Constance*, the wicked article of lawfull killing of Princes, by priuate men (holding them Tyrants) is rejected and condemned.

Euery man seeth how resolu'd a case he maketh it, both by the Catholicke Divines, and by the Cannon of the Councell of *Constance*, that no priuate attempts though of neuer so magnanimous a spirit against the life of a Prince, though neuer so much tainted with Tyranny, insufficiency, infidellity, or heresie can be in any sort iustificable.

But that it may the better be knowne, that these be but fallacious and gay-coated words, *Ad faciendum populum*, I will (for bearing any mine owne refutations, encounter and contradict this smoothing *P. R.* with one of his owne fellow Iesuites, that goeth more roundly, and

and plainly to this poynt: Such a one as whether he bestowed his skill and faculty, with any mischievous intention to animate wicked enterprises, (for his Booke was Printed about the very time of our last so memorable plots of Treason) my charity will suspend my iudgement, he casteth no colours, nor feareth to deliuer boldly his resolutions, and encouragements to all Catholikes. It is *Iohannes Mariana*, a Spaniard and Iesuite, and a Divinity Reader, his Booke is intituled, *De Rege et Regis institutione*, published in the the year 1605. Dedicated to the King of Spaine, and printed *Per missu superiorum*, yea and *Regia auctoritate*.

Now if Mr. P. R. will allow this great Scholler, comming forth *in lucem et oculos hominum*, accompanied with such estate of attending approbations, to be a Catholike, hee shall heare him speake, and then let him blame his temerity, for telling tales out of the Iesuiticall Schoole. The sixt Chapter of his first Booke, is wholly bestowed vpon this question, of the lawfulnessse of deposing or slaying Tyrants. The particularity of killing the French King is argued, the reasons on both sides produced, pondered and enforced: His determination decideth, and adjudgeth the fact to haue beene just, prayse worthy, and agreeable to the Catholicke grounds.

He further setteth forth, the received opinion of the Church, to be that it is lawfull for Subiects, when the King refuseth to be reformed, and after sentence against him, to renounce their Obedience, to consult for the leuying of a necessary Warre, to tax the people, with the charge thereof, and with armed force and weapons, (in such case of necessitie) to
set

let vpon him, to kill him, and destroy him, and then descendeth to this conclusion *Eademq. facultas esto, cuiusq. privato, qui spe impunitatis abiecta, neglecta propria salute, in conatum inuadendi rempublicam, ingredi voluerit*; Let any private man, which (casting aside all hope of impunity, and carelesse of his owne safety) will adventure to enterprise his endeavors to relieue the Common-wealth, take vnto him the same liberty, Hath he not soundly and definitively declared the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and the very secrecies and misteries of the Iesuites profession; to the apparant conviction of this Mitigators fained attestations? And to the foresaid Councell of *Constance*, (which is produced to impugne this position of the practises, or attempts of private men against lawfull Soveraignes) hee also maketh answer in this manner, First, that no Decree of any Councell standeth good and holy, without the consent of his Holinesse thereunto, Then, that this Decree was neuer approved by Pope *Martin* the 5th, neither would *Eugenius* or his successors euer ratifie the same, and after declareth also, that the Fathers of that assembly did chiefly intend that their Session and consultation against the *Hussites* who maintained that Princes, for crimes by them committed, did forfeit their estate, and that thereupon they might lawfully be by any man deprived of that power which they vniustly held, or obtained. Againe, that in perticuler and properly, they then purposed to opugne the proposition of *Iohannes Parvus*, a Divine of *Paris*, who vnder colour of this defence, that it was lawfull by private authority to kill a Tirant, endeavored to iustifie the fact of the Duke of *Burgundie* in slaying of the Duke of *Orleanse*, In which case there were these diversities from that rule. Here was
betweene

betweene these persons equalitie, and no inferioritie, there was a solemne oath violated and broken, and here was no attending for the sentence, or direction of the Superior. Here we see two Iesuites in two different opinions in a matter of greatest moment, both of them founding vpon the faith of the Church, both approved *permissu superiorum* by the allowance of the superiors. Thus hauing buckled together two principall Iesuites to lugg and tugg each other by the eares, I will only thus far giue my verdit of their variance, That the Spaniard *Mariana* dealeth plainly and constantly to the practize of Popery, and the ratificacions and affirmacions of the Popes themselves, who will not endure any abridging of their prerogative power of proceeding against Princes in what sort soeuer, And our English *P. R.* hideth the sting, would conceale deepe dissembled treacheries by protesting termes to secure vs from suspicions, till the venome of malice hath pierced all the veines of the state, and seized out very hart and life-blood, by surprizes vnthought of, hauing brought vs into a carelesse and deceitfull securitie; *P. R.* hath bene very curious and copious in trying, and examining his aduersaries allegacions, interpretacions, falsificacions, translacions, and applications, seeming so watchfull and diligent in that kind of animaduersion, as if he accounted it a shame, and soile, to omit any line or sillable vnanswered, for indeede, the whole bulke of his booke in this businesse, is fraught with no other stufte then with such wrangling matter, of misavouching, and misconsterings of quoted allegacions. But that it may appeare how his deadly hooke resting in the beliefe of his heart, is covered over with an honied bait beguiling vs with fairer speach, I shall be bold to

trouble him with one question.

What is the cause that Mr. *Mortons* publication, of the
solemn Oration made by the Pope *Xixtus* the 5. in the
Consistory of the Cardinalls, in the commendation of
the notable, rare, and memorable act of the brave Monke
that killed the French King, and the inference by him
made and urged against the Pope, for his maintenance
of Conspiracy, and Treason, is both by the moderate an-
swer first, and after, by this mitigating replier layed aside
in silence, and not once handled, or glanced at by any
seeming answer. The truth is, they were enwrapped with
a dilemma to allow the fact was against their pretence in
their position, and to disallow the Pope, was against
their faith in their religion they must defend by ar-
gument, what for outward carriage is given them in
charge, sith it tendeth to their advantageous purpose:
and they may not (without dispensation) either pre-
sume to censure, or undertake to oppugne, what his Holi-
nesse approveth, lest they betray and shake the founda-
cion of their Supremacy. By this time, I trust his well
cloaked dabble iniquity is discovered to his very naked-
nesse; were it not now very strange, that hee and I
(whom our former contencions have so farre divided a-
sunder) should part reconciled, and well accorded? In
his sixt Chapter (of corruptions and falsifications) hee
taketh hold of Mr. *Mortons* exposition, That the Impe-
riall and Kingly Authority in Spirituall causes, reacheth
no farther then as to outward preservation, and not to
personall administration: Hereupon he assureth vs, that
if this be really ment, all the Catholikes of *England* will
presently take the oath of Supremacy, requiring with
an earnest challenge that as this is publikely printed, and
that

that by Authority, so it may have publike allowance & performace to make it good, whereby as touching that poynt there may be an attonement. I feare that the man in the heate of his sudden apprehension, and without the wary consideracion which his pen hath been accustomed vnto, doth overshoot and forget himselfe. Shall I thinke that he hath never read, or vtterly forgotten the Oath of Supremacy? He hath so scanned and canvased the Statutes of *Henry* the eight, *Edward* the sixth, and *Queene Elizabeth*, picking at every mote thereof, and making a beame of the same (though with a left eye, and a left hand) that I cannot so much as surmize but that he hath had every threed of this question betweene his fingers. Therefore (if his former subtilty hath not suddenly betrayed him, and exposed him to derision) as I must admire that he is so easily reformed in Iudgement, so, I shall be content to embrace the occasion of a well gained agreement. And will *P. R.* the Iesuite, and the rest of the English Catholikes of the Romish faction abide by this word in good earnest? that if the Kings Maiestie doe not claime or assume vnto him personall administration in causes Ecclesiasticall, the Oath of Supremacy shall no further be stood vpon, or refused. Then let him be thinke himselfe of this part or clause of the Oath, That no forraigne Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to haue any iurisdiction, powre, superiority, preeminence, or authority Ecclesiasticall, or Spirituall within this Realme, if he digest this, then see how one thing draweth on another: all our former differences are at once, and in this one compounded: also, for if the Pope (being a forraigne Prelate or Potentate) be excluded, from hauing any Ecclesiasticall power or Spirituall

tuall authority within this Realme. Then our question of his prehemineney or jurisdiction in repressing the exorbitant and pernicious excesse of great men, as an Ecclesiasticall Iudge, or Supream Pastor, direct, or indirect, is at an end clearly determined: I doubt not but his excellent Majesty of his Princely care to bring home so many lost sheepe, and to bosome them againe in his dearest loue, will afford them that sanorable interpretation which this there Aduocate and Orator, requireth in their behalfe.

In the meane space (not to loose what we haue got) I retorne vnto P. R. the like charge of making good of his word, touching the Oath of Supremacy, in the sence and distinction asorementioned, and therewithall might thinke it not reasonable, any further to stricke a yeelding aduersary, that by so voluntary an offer cleareth the cause from any further controversie.

But remembring the nature and quality of our aduersary and the many winding and intricaking trickes he is vsed vnto in the canvassing of this or the like controversies, I feare that this our reconciliation is rather seeming then substanciall, and will suddainly vpon a small touch, fall a sunder againe to as great a discrepance; for howsoeuer he doth so franckly yeeld vnto his Majesty, a supremacy, of the Church in Ecclesiasticall causes, as touching outward preservation onely, let him be but sifted a little in his meanings, it will breake from him that he neuer purposed to strengthen the state and authority of our Soueraigne, with any such power of absolute defence and protection, which shall presently appeare by ministring vnto him some few questions: I pray you Sir, what Church, and what Ecclesiasticall causes, doe

doe you consent to be within the Kings Royall preservation? is it incident and appropriate to his Princely Scepter, to mayntaine the religion now established in his Dominions? by making Lawes for enforcing subjects, to an vniforme allowance, and profession thereof, by punishing Recusants according to Iustice, and by employing all his powers to suppress the oppugners, or Conspirators against the same? Dareth he to abide by this? will he henceforth iustifie this preservation, and that by his religious oath, which hitherto the impoysoned pens of these Jesuited spirits haue not spared odiously to tearme a cruell persecution? wee haue shaked him already from his attonement, with vs in this poynt. He will tell vs plainely, That the Church and Ecclesiasticall cause which he authorized the Prince to protect and preserue, is onely the Catholike Church, and Religion, and then (as if *orbs*, and *vrbs*, were all one) that the Catholike is the Romish, so that vnlesse the King will turne Leigeman, with a kinde of vazilage to the Sea of *Rome*, his right of Supremacy in the outward preservation of the Church, (which this man dareth assure vs that all Catholikes in *England* will easily accord vnto) must be denied him, as not due and proper to the Title of his Regality, Papacy is the pole-starre of all their contemplations, It is the Centure whereunto are carried and cleaueth fast all their drifts and disputations. And no further shall any Prince hold power (especiallly, in Ecclesiasticall causes which are all bosomed vp in the breast of his Holinesse) then the same shall serue in a sub-ordination to the advancing and exaltation of that most imperious Romish Hyerarchy.

Nay their temporall authority, also must be kirbed,

stinted, and subjugated by that vntollerable yoke of Popish vsurpation, except it should be made plyant, ranged, and accommodated, *In ordine ad dominum Papam*, Then (not regarding P. R. his assurance of the voluntary submissions, and subscriptions of all Catholikes of *England*, to the Kings Supremacy, according to the limitation or interpretation aforesayd) we may well assure our selves that no English Papists, (finding this supremacy of defence and preservation to tend to the subversion and extirpation of their idolatrous Religion) will euer yeelde oath to keepe sayth thereunto: Yet (hauing closed with him in a full consent vnto this position, that euery Prince hath *Iure divino*, the supremacy of outward preservation of the Church, and Ecclesiasticall causes within his Territories and Dominions) let it be remembred that he neuer hereafter scandalize the proceedings and execution of Iustice in *England* against the refractaries and treacherous oppugners of the Religion established in this Realme, sith the same is the lawfull and necessary act of a well warranted and acknowledged Supremacy; from which our publicke profession of Fayth is to receiue protection and preservation; I cannot but conceiue that this Clarke P. R. wilbe shent, and receiue some checke for his Doctrine: For out of question if his Holinesse, and Cardinall *Bellarmino*, haue enkindled their displeasures against Mr. *Blackwell*, the Arch-Priest for allowing the Oath of Alleagiance (which containeth onely an acknowledgment of the hereditary rights of temporall Soueraignty, whereunto naturall duty, (in respect of relation) doth bind each subject: How much more heynously will it be taken, that this Arch-Iesuite (as if both their Arches, had slipped from them

them at once) should so confidently condescend to this artickle of Spirituall Supremacy, in the sence, qualification, or moderation, before expressed? He cannot escape the blame, of forgetting or forsaking of his principles, neyther can he euer salve his offence, by any wily Interpretation or beguiling distinction.

His direct, and indirect, his absolute and conditionall, his mediate, and immediate, his simpliciter and *secundum quid* or *quatenus*, and the like (which in all his discourse argumenting doth make his way for him through many Obstacles, whilst he treadeth out vnto vs his maze of Circuler shifts, and manifold euasions) can touching this his confession or protestation haue no place or serue him to any stead, because knowing aforehand how the case standeth in euery circumstanciall or considerable perticularity, he hath to the King of England within his seuerall Dominions adjudged the Supream government of causes Ecclesiasticall, as in the office and care of preserving the Church, with the fayth and Doctrines thereof, from all wronges or corruptions Forraigne or Domesticall.

I eneroach not vppon him by inferences and constructions, I onely take that which he so fully and clearely giueth, and do challenge him that what he hath deliuered vnto vs for his iudgement and resolution, (and that in high termes and vinting and flaunting of his aduantages therein.) He will (notwithstanding any reprehension or retreite from the Pope or Bellarmine) still with the like brauery and constancy mayntaine vnto the end, but shall I disclose a secret or rather a wonder vnto the World? What if the very same Author who so boldly assumeth and assureth at this time for all Catholikes the

Title of Spirituall Supremacy, to appertayne to the Crowne Imperiall of this Land, doth after in another set Treatise, published purpoledly, or rather maliciously, to traduce and discredit our gouernment, and to vphold the Popes and Cardinall *Bellarmines* censures concerning the Oath of Allegiance, like a very Changling, fall quite away from this his former so earnestly proffered and promised conformity, declareth himselfe, to be so farre from affording his Majesty by oath his supremacy of preleruation in causes Ecclesiasticall, as that he holdeth it vnlawfull for a Catholike conscience to take the oath of Temporall Allegiance, as repugnant to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, will not euery man of vnderstanding admire, how the same person can refuse to sweare Allegiance Temporall, that hath so readily and hotly, granted a Supremacy Spirituall?

A Letter of a
Catholike
Gentleman
touching the
Oath of Alle-
giance, Fol. 67.

To induce me to belecue that it is all one person that hath so vndertaken to act vnto vs two so repugnant parts, I haue (besides fame and report) and a kind of idempnity in the phrase and stile, some very approveable probabilities, his mencioning of the powder-treason in these weake and tender tearmes, of that headlong action of a few Catholike Gentlemen, and such other lamenting speeches, for the euill cariage, or miscarying of the enterprise without any one apt or right expressing word to denotate or condemne the foulenesse thereof, is certainly moulded with the soft hand of this our counterfetting kind-hearted mitigator, his shaping and propounding of the generall question concerning the Popes authority ouer Princes, is conceaved even in the same words which this *P. R.* hath vsed in delivering and expressing the same,
and

and then acquainteth vs with his supposall, That it was
 „ never the meaning of such Catholikes as tooke the
 „ Oath of allegiance to deny simply and absolutely, That Fol. 12.
 „ the Pope as supreme Pastor of the Catholike Church
 „ hath any authority left him by Christ, either directly
 „ or indirectly, with cause or without cause, in neuer so
 „ great a necessitie, or for neuer so great and publike vti-
 „ litie of Christian religion, to proceede against any
 „ Prince whatsoever, temporally, for his restraint or a-
 „ mendment. Is not this the very same water of the same
 Cesterne? He yet goeth further for better prooffe and
 confirmation of his said supposall by the selfe-same rea-
 „ sons set forth *Verbatim*: for that they should thereby
 „ contradict the generall consent of all Catholike Di-
 „ vines, and confesse that Gods providence for the con-
 „ servacion and preservacion of his Church and king-
 „ dome vpon earth, hath beene defectuous, for that hee
 „ should haue left no lawfull remedy for so great and ex-
 „ cessive an evill as that way might fall out. I had set the
 print of my fingers vpon all and every of these words
 before, so that by that brand they were presently knowne
 vnto mee, and their Author or owner apparantly discove-
 red, howsoever as a Iesuite he stileth himselfe *Gent.* who
 bound to no order may assume any shape.

Then presupposing vpon these likelyhoods, that in the
 pursute of this my slippery adversary (Iesuite or *Gent.*) I
 haue met with him againe as at a new turning, I must
 not let him escape vntill hee make mee a good answer,
 how he can affirme for the King a Supremacy Ecclesia-
 sticall for preserving of the Church, and yet alledge a-
 gainst the oath of allegiance a more supreme power in
 the Pope, to suppress and annihilate that Supremacy,

and that in a course of Temporall Supereminency? I ever tooke Supremacy to be such a superlative, as admitteth no superior: I never heard of any subalternate supremacy, it hath too harsh and absurd a sound; but that any temporall Prince absolute of himselfe, vndependent vpon any higher on earth, immediate to God Almighty should be over-awed or over-topped by the pretended primacy of a Luciferian Prelate, and that by the brandishing of a temporall sword, and imploying forces, coercians temporall, what can be more vnsensible to be conceived, more vnreasonable to be maintayned, or more impious to be practized?

Yet the only cause and couler why the Pope commandeth, and the Cardinall adviseth, the Catholikes of *England*, to forbear and refuse to take the oath of allegiance, is this, That in the said oath is couched and included the derogation, and renunciation of the sufficiency and absolutenesse of the Popes authority over or against his Majestie, claymed by vertue of his high office of supreame Pastor, whereby he is enabled to proceed against any Prince whatsoever temporally for his restraint and amendement, or to permit other Princes to do the same: So that the question of the lawfulnessse of this oath, and the question argued in these few leaves of my labor concerning the Popes arrogant Vsurpation, hath not any threed of difference sorting both alike to one and the same purpose. Therefore if vnto my former refutation of the Mittigators, immoderate attribution of power vnto the Pope, I shall ioyne some few animadversions vpon the epistoling Gentlemen: also (an *alter idem* of *P. R.*) for the better observing and discovering of his deceitfull and disloyall cariage, in the reprovng of that

that oath, it will be a continuance of the same skirmish, and the like battering of the same bulwarke which the pride of *Rome* hath erected and endeavoreth to fortifie against the dignity of Kings and the truth of God.

First I observe that howsoever he vndertaketh in generall termes to make good the Popes desision touching the refusall of that oath on the part of his Maiesties Catholikes subiects, yet in his perticuler arguing thereupon, (as if he were also another Pope, whom as a iudge, it becommeth not to dispute) he discusseth not the severall parts to be disliked in the oath, or setteth forth plainly and contradictorily the words which hee will hold or maintaine to be vnlawfull or cumbersome to the squemish conscience of their pretended Catholikes, whereby a true state or issue of the matter in question might be taken in consideration, but in stead of such expresse and positieue mentioning of the disliked parts of that oath, glideth away in his glosing fashion with bare affirmation of dangerous doctrinall clauses, conteining matter of faith, craftely conioyned together, with the exacting of civill duty, preiudiciall to the integritie and purity of Catholike religion.

This kind of handling a controuersie, is rather resolving then reasoning, and more Pope like in determining as a Iudge, then Scholler like in demonstrating as a Disputer: Why doth hee not to euery branch, of the sayd oath affixe and oppose his negatiue, without any such faynt plea, or sumbling and broken speeches, cut of with &c. Will the distinction of direct, and indirect, as he maketh it to serue the Pope for actions and authorities, so serue his turne also in speaking and argumenting? standeth it with any Logicall rules, to

induce or inforce conclusions, indirectly by conception and application, which ought to be produced directly, in a full opposition to the questioned proposition.

Then where the oath hath these plaine words, that the Pope hath not any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose any his Maiesties Kingdomes, or Dominions, or to authorize any Forraigne Prince to invade or annoy him in his Countries, or to discharge any of his Subjects from their allegiance and obedience to his Maiesty, or to gine Licence or leau to any of them to beare Armes, raise Tumults, or to offer any violence, or hurt to his Majesties Royall person, state, or government, why doth not he in justification of the vnlawfulnesse of this oath, by as playne, full, and broad termes, telvs that the Pope, by the capacity of his omnipotency, is indued with so plenary a power, as that he may depose the King, dispose his Kingdomes, authorize Forraigne invasions, discharge his Subjects from allegiance, licence them to offer violence to his Royall Person, state, or gouernment? And that for that regard the conscience of the Catholikes may not be obliged by any such prophane oath, impyous against the Pope, and the amplitude of his Pastoral primacy? But doth hee in any one line of his whole Volume, let slippe any word expressly declaring, naming, or mentioning any power of this nature, and that Lawfully may produce these effects, to be invested or bestowed vpon his Holinesse? I am perswaded that the *igniculi* of naturall duty, the *morfus* of an acknowledging conscience, and the *purdor* of his face (which perhaps yet retayneth some remnants of modesty) would not suffer him so far to degenerate from naturall notions,

so farre to be alienated from his dutious recognicion, or so farre to passe all the bonds of shame, as directly, and roundly to deliuer vnto the World any sentence so monstrous, and so full of horror and heynousnesse.

Neuerthelesse hee hath taken such a taste of the sower grape of *Rome*, and is dipped so deepe into the venome and malice of that imperious and persecuting Church, as that yet indirectly, and by a subtile conueyance of his meaning, hee giueth vs to vnderstand, that his inward soule, hath pronounced this doome and judgement against his annoynted Soueraigne, and therefore that soule, must not be entangled, stayed, or bound, by any brideling or restrayning oath to the contrary.

But how doth his outward man manage these difficulties? Iust in the same manner to an hayres breadth, as Mr. *Mittigator* (whom hee may call his *ille ego*) doth that is closly, dissemblingly, timorously, and treacherously: In the place of the Pope, hee vseth the entitleings of Supream Pastor, the deposing and killing of Princes, hee compriseth, and couereth vnder the words of proceeding against, and restrayning of them, what is done by inuasion, insurrection, or force of armes, is included in the word temporalty, the stirring vp and appoynting of other Potentates, to partake, in the quarrell, is brought in very gently in this good shew of permitting other Princes, &c.

Now fie vppon this blanching and disguising Oratory, If hee could passe away cleanly with these easie and fauouring phrales, hee would steale out against vs, (as not suspecting his harmefull intentions) his deadly writ of execution: This one word of restrayning would

(like to a ball of wild-fire) disclose it selfe, and breake a sunder, into censuring, depriving, deposing, destroying, and murdering of Soueraignes, and would haue no meane, or end of oppression or Tyranny.

Next, admitting him to this liberty, as not to single out any speciall, or particular clauses of the oath, let vs examine how hee prooueth that there bee enwrapped within the sayd oath, poynts of religion as well as of ciuill obedience; he maketh reckoning to haue shewed it by foure seuerall distinct wayes: I will beare him witness that the wayes be seuerall; for onely one of them hath shewe of leading vs to the scope and conclusion fore-intended; the rest are all straggling pathes, quite from the purpose, for are not these I pray you good arguments? The *Pope* telleth the *Catholikes* that hee hath heard, that they are compelled to go to the Churches and Assemblies of Heretickes, and to be at their Sermons, *Ergo*, the oath of Allegiance containeth matter of Religion, as well of ciuill obedience. Again, *Bellarmino* compareth the oath to the crafty composition and commixture of the Images of the Emperour *Iulian*, and the *Pomim* gods, all coupled and combined together in this Imperiall banner: *Ergo*, by an argument *ab autoritate*, there be in that oath poynts Spirituall and Temporall conioyned together.

Lastly, the good Gentleman doth kindly make this reall offer for satisfaction of his Majesty, that hee will sweare vnto him, as much Loyalty as euer any Catholike Subject of *England* did, vnto the lawfull Kings in former times before the change of King *H. 8.* *Ergo*, there lurketh articles of fayth in the sayd oath, vnder the pretence of ciuill duties. The first of the foure, seemeth

meth to shute faire, and and at the least to sticke in the
 "Butt, though farre enough from the marke; and thus
 "it speaketh, from the plaine expresse words, sence, and
 "drift of the oath it selfe, That besides the acknowledg-
 "ment of our Soueraigne to be true King and rightfull
 "Lord ouer all his Dominions; and that I will be a true
 "loyall Subject vnto him and such other clauses, where-
 "at no man sticketh or maketh any difficulty, the sayd
 "oath contayneth further, that I must sweare in like
 "manner some poynts, concerning the limitation of
 "the Popes authority, to wit, what hee cannot doe
 "towards his Majesty, or his Successour in any case
 "whatsoeuer? Which question brought vnto the *Thesis*
 "of all Kings touether (sayth he) a poynt of Doctrine
 "and Catholike beliefe, concerning the sufficiency of
 "of Pastorall authority, left by our Saviour in his
 "Church vnto St. Peter, and his Successours, for re-
 "dressing of all inconueniences that may fall out; and
 "this to forswear hath perill of euerlasting Dam-
 "nation.

There must be a monstrous strayne, nay, hee must
 breake through and steale, before his Holinesse with
 his predominate power, can get into the Creede, I
 haue before set in his way crosse barres, and obstacles e-
 nough, which hee will neuer be able to over-slide) to
 impeach his assention into any such height, as to set in
 our consciences, The article of *Catholica Ecclesia*, will
 be no cloake or conductor for him, nor shall hold the
 Canopy over his high estate of Supreamc, pontifi-
 callity.

The Argument wherewith this Gent. doth Vsher the
 Pope to so eminent a place of power, and reputation, as
 that

that his prerogative is past questioning, and that vpon paine of damnation, is this, every oath that conteyneth poynts concerning the limitation of the Popes Authority, is an oath belonging to Religion; but this oath expressing what the Pope cannot doe towards his Majestie, or his successor in any case whatsoever, is an oath concerning the limitation of the Popes authority, therefore this oath is belonging to Religion: If the *Maior* proposition be vntrue or vncertaine, all the rest tottereth and falleth, as without foundation: I will examine the same by the pondering of the particuler words thereof. First, (belonging to Religion, in a generall sence may comprehend all the actions and resolves of men: yea ciuill duties, also are within the spaciousnes thereof, because a true Christian is to governe his whole life and carriage by the rules of his Religion: but this Disputor must narrow the signification thereof more precisely, tying and applying the same onely to the articles of Faith. Secondly, the Popes authority must vndergoe the like distinction as themselves haue propounded vnto vs, (that is to say) what he may doe as Pope, and what he hath accustomed to doe by other acquiered titles, or by meere vsurping intrusion.

Now then to say, that euery limiting of the Popes authority whatsoever the same be, or howsoever obtayned or exercised belongeth to the Articles of beleefe, I for my part will neuer beleefe it, and I do not thinke, that any of their owne Secritaries will be so much besotted, I will expayne my meaning by instances and cases of the like condition; suppose that the Pope would pretend and pleade that the King doth hold of him the Crowne of this Land, and therefore as Superior Lord, will

will require homage or trybute, and in default of rendering the same, will invade his Dominions with sword and force: If in this case the King shall for more security of his Imperiall State, aske (vppon Allegiance) the oathes of all, or any his Subjects in detestation of that claime, may the Catholikes make scruple of conscience concerning such an oath, because the same seemeth to limmit and abridge, the Popes pretended right and authority? making in the meane time no Religion of the limmiting, lessening, and detracting from the Sovereignes Title and pre-eminence? perhaps they will say that this is a question of civill right, and that the Subject is cleerely bound to maintaine the Prince. But how if the Pope pretend withall his Pastorall care, and preservation of matters spirituall, then I trust (*in ordine ad spiritualia*) his temporall attempts must bee supported, by his spirituall Children, against the King and Country.

Againe, let it be conceiued that the Pope much mooued with indignation, at the execution of Iustice ministred in this Kingdome, against the Treacherous Conspirators of the Popish faction, should vpon that gnawing grudge towards the Iudges of this Land, take vpon him by solemne Censure, to depriue and displace them from their Iuridiciall offices, wherein (though he can assume no ordinary or rightfull power) yet *in ordine ad spiritualia* and for the generall relecte, and necessity of the Catholike cause hee adventureth as from his pastorall charge, to pronounce them from henceforth to be incompetent Iudges, commanding all Catholikes also to reckon of them, and the iudgements by them giuen: Now the question is, whither to make a constant asseue-

ration that the Pope hath no such authority, be vnto a Catholike conscience a poynt of Faith or Religion, because of such limiting bounds, disabling the Pope in his supposed sufficiency of his generall function for the good of the Church? If the denying or abating of the popes authority over these inferior ministers of Iustice be not accounted cumbersome to the consciences of Catholikes (wherein I thinke they will make no doubt) why should the abjuring of this papall power over our Supream Magistrate touching the deposing and destroying of him, be thought so dangerous, and damnable, or repugnant to their owne Religion? will Religion allow him more liberty against the highest, then against the meaner Sublinites? or if hee haue such a Rule over Princes themselves, why not also over the Subordinate Officers of the Kingdome? to command, direct, authorize, or suppress them, to the best auayle and advancement, of the Catholike side, that so hee may become more then Monarchiall, by an absolute and unlimited Dominion?

This *Gen.* saith that touching the acknowledgement of our Soveraigne to be true King and rightfull Lord over all his Dominions, no man sticketh at that: But, I aske, whether if the Pope haue already enwrapped his Majestie within any of his generall sentences, or shall declare by any especiall means, that he is not to be acknowledged King, will not then the Catholikes sticke at that? must not they refuse to swear vnto that clause of recognition also? for feare that his Holinesse be questioned and limited in his owne powre and preeminence? I will not feare to affirme, That the true allegiance, and obedience of a naturall subject, cannot dwell together in the corrupted

ted heart of a devoted & dissembling Papist, and therefore no marvell that the heart preposessed with Papacy, doth cast such doubts, of offending his dearest love, especially having plighted faith, and vowed his service, by all constant endeavors thereunto.

This contrariety of Masters, must needs breed iea-
sies on both sides, for as the Pope forbiddeth Papists, to
sweare their allegiance and fidellity to the King, (fearing
lest himselfe should thereby be excluded and renounced)
So the King can never thinke himselfe secure and assured
of those subiects, who (from their acknowledgement of
the Popes superiority over the King, and that in such a
degree as may indure no limiting) dare not be affianced
by oath to the safety of the King against the decrees and
designes of their *Dominus dominorum*. Then what will
they say, or do, to free his Majestie from feares and ielou-
sies? Doth this supple *Gent.* thinke to make or bring
confidence, which I hope in Gods goodnesse that the
Pope will never attempt anything in prejudice of his
Majestie. Surely Sir, your hope is too weake a stay for
our state to rest or trust vnto: For what if the same
great important and vrgent cases, concerning Christian
religion doe fall out wherein yee averr the Popes au-
thority over Princes: Then in that case I perceive the
best answer we shall expect from you will be the fooles
proverbe, *non putarem*. For here againe you feede and
soppe vs one with another of your hopes (which wee
hope will never be betweene our Sovereigne and the
Sea Apostolike.) Is it not more then strange that this
so provident coniecturer of future events, should hope
that that matter will never be; which long hath beene,
continually is, and I trust perpetually will be, seeing, that

these same great, important, and vrgent eases concerning Christian Religion haue done, and doe dayly fall out, betweene our Sovereigne and the Sea of *Rome*, called by him Apostolike, Therefore it appeareth that the man hath lost his wits, whilst he would obtrude his hopes. The true conclusion is, that for as much as these great and important cases are in continuall conflict and question betweene the Pope and his Majestie, and that consequently the Authority of the Pope lyeth prest in dayly readinesse to repressse and suppressse his Majestie vpon all occasions, as it concerneth his Royall person, for the preservation of his Life, State, and Dignity, to assure himselfe of the vniolable faithfulnessse of his Subjects, so that must needs be accounted a disloyall and vnaturall part for any subiect to be so seduced, by hypocriticall pretences, as to adhere to a forraine and fained clerical Primacy, against his alleagiance, love and duty, towards his true Sovereigne Lord and King.

The *Gent.* useth many glorious and plausible speeches of the humble acknowledgment of all temporall dueties to his Majestie, and iumpeth with the Mittigator in opinion, that it is not vnpossible for the Catholikes to conforme in Subiection to the Civill government, and yet to reserve their consciences to the religion of *Rome*, if this were affirmed of such Countries only where the Prince is of the Romish faith, or of this Nation whilst the Pope had some hold, and prevalency in the same, then perhaps we might come neere to an agreement in this poynt, but where the Prince and Pope are of religion so repugnant and opposite, where the Pope is quite secluded and expelled from any power Ecclesiasticall or Civill, and where the Prince as in the right of the Crowne, is the defender
and

and preserver of the faith within his Kingdome, there we are taught by experience, and directed by reason, that the entertayning and professing of Papacy, is the renouncing and repressing of regallity. I weigh not the allegation that is made, of the long continuance for well-neere a thousand yeares, of the admission and permission of the Popes Superioritie in this Realme, and how the same for all that space stood vn-offensive vnto this state, for whilst there was either subiugaiton, or coniugation of the two powerfull commands, their contrarieties and repugnances could not be so apparently discovered, as they be now manifested, by the distinguishment and finall differencing of them into their proper natures, rights, and limitations. I haue read diligently that great Volume, avouched by this *Gent.* written with much labour to this poore purpose, of declaring the Papal pre-eminence within this Cuntry, ever since the first conversion thereof to Christianity, vntill the reigne of King *Henry* the eight.

Answered to
Sir Edward
Cooke.

The Authors sedulity and devotion may amongst the Birds of the same feather, receiue his reward, (at the least) of commendation, but I will vndertake with one short answer, (consisting but of two parts) to runne my pen through every line of that huge Bulke, blotting and putting out whatsoever he hath painted, foorth for the best shewe. First, (forbearing to refute their Fables, and taking their owne accompt of time, which they make of the entry of the Romish Religion into this Land,) it is euident that the mystery of iniquity, and the Antichristian arrogancy of the Romish prelacy, was then reuealed and exalted into worldly pompe: So as they then sending of Factors into these parts, was but to Conquer the simple people, of that vniinstructed

age to the bondage and yoke of *Rome*.

And therefore no maruaile, if they were still held in the same, or the like subjection in the succeeding times, wherevnto they were at the first surprized by politicall handling, and with much simulation of piety trayned one for intromitting, and acceptation thereof; and I cannot invent a fitter resemblance whereby to represent the cunning carriage of that plot in those dayes, then that which *Cardinall Bellarmine* hath vsed and app'lyed in this question. Which is the crafty composition and commixture of Images set by *Iulian* the Emperour of himselfe and the *panim* gods coupled and combined together, in his Imperiall banner, for as that Emperour vnder the shew of reuerence due to be performed to himselfe, though to haue seduced those good Christians to the honoring of Idols, so in those darke and vndiscerning times of our fore-fathers, by the tempering and ioyning of the Christian Religion, and the Antichristian vsurpation, their simplicity was abused, and they by subtile practises, wrought vnto such a credulity, as that together with the sweete comforts of Christ, they sucked in at once the poyson of Romish Idolatry, and the oppression of papacy: The second part of my answer is, that notwithstanding such encroachment of the popedome vnto this Kingdome, wherein by stealing steppes and sundry Hypocriticall passages that had gotten good footing, keeping in the meane while both Prince and people in an ignorant devotion, and a dread of damnation: Yet did the Kings of *England*, from time to time, feeble themselves and their Soueraigne state to be enthralled and wronged by the over-awing, and busie intermeddling of that vniversall pastorship, and therefore

therefore omitted not, vppon all occasions, to make knowne their dislikes and reluctations, to vphold the course, and force of the ancient Common Law, to defend and put in practise the Imperiall prerogatiues of their Crowne, and to restrayne the exorbitant ambition of the sea of *Rome*, by prouiding statutes, vnder grieuous penalties against the Subjects of this Land, that in derogation of the Iustice, gouernment, and regall rights, of the King, did make recourse vnto *Rome*, by way of appeale, impetration, or other pretences contrary to the naturall obligation of their faith and allegiance.

But it will be sayd, how came it to passe then, that the Subjects held on their former orders, and no whit retrayned from *Rome*, yeelding still to the pope the same their dependency, and acknowledgments: That shall I also tell you, the pope and Councell of *Rome* (knowing right well, how fully they had possessed all sorts of people, with a blind zeale, carried after idle Ceremonies, and well pleasing superstitions, and remembering that they had so seized and fastned vpon their Conscience, as that every one held the saluation, or damnation of his soule, to consist in his obedience, or disobedience to the Church of *Rome*;) did crosse and avoyde the execution of such states by decreeing and sending forth their Ecclesiasticall execution, of suspending, and excommunicating, of all Ministers of Iustice, or other ministeriall persecutors whatsoever, that should attempt to enforce, or execute any such Statutes; by this meanes of denouncing such terrors to the soule, the mightinesse and authority of the pope, grew dreadfull and powerfull, vntill it pleased the Almighty

mighty God, by the revelation of his truth, and discovery of Popish falshoods, to inspire with courage and magnanimity the heart of that Right Noble King *H. 8.* who finally without any feare of his thunderbots, accomplished that worke of freeing this Realme from the gricuous burthen, and heavy yoake of the popish Supremacy, which diuers of his prodecessors Kings of *England*, had often, and much endeauoured, and desired to do, if their illightnings with grace, and enablings with meanes, had serued them thereunto; Thus it is made cleare, that the Popes authority, neither at the first landing thereof vppon the Coast of this Kingdome (which was not in the purer times, but 600 yeares after, Christ as themselves confesse, when the Church of *Rome* was false from sincerity) neyther in the continuance and exercise of the same was lawfull, allowable, or beneficiall, but rather intruded, offensiue, and prejudiciall vnto this state; and for his motion of sampling our proceedings to the practise vsed in other Countries ouer Catholike Subjects, in this poynt of excluding the Pope for intermedling temporally against Princes, shewing that they will be ready to answere as much duty and allegiance to his Majesty, as any such Catholike Subjects in any other Kingdome doth, or is bound to doe: He must know that he must then make and take his patterne, from the Protestant Princes, who haue resumed their ancient and originall rights, and not from them whom he calleth Catholikes, that honoreth the best, and dishonoreth themselves; wherefore the *Gent.* may hold his hand from the booke, his kind offer of swearing vnto his Majesty as much loyalty as euer any Catholike Subject of *England* did vnto the lawfull King
in

in former times and ages, before the Change of King H. 8. will not be accepted as a suffering service or duty; Then was both King and people made drunke with the Popish cup, of spirituall Fornications, the Kings then were but halfe Kings, and the Subiects but halfe Subiects; his Holinesse had pared away so much from the one, and gayned so much vppon the other, the one could not be absolute in commanding, for feare that his Superior should enterpose, the other could not be absolute in obeying, because there might come a stronger countermaund; then what hath this offer more then thus? We haue beene filthy and will be filthy still. And why should not his Maiesty require of his Subiects such obedience, as by the rules of the true reformed Religion, which hee professeth he lawfully may doe? Or is there any reason that he should still be held to the former wrongs, and disaduantages, which ignorance, hypocrisie, pride, and other manifold corruptions did beget and produce against his Crowne, and Sovereignty: Is it to be reckoned a poynt of Fayth and Saluation to lay forth a limitation of that power which hath beene heretofore so infinitely extended, and so vniustly claymed? and what is this limitation?

Forsooth that the Pope cannot make Kings no Kings, or Subiects no Subiects, that his spirituall Sheephooke may not subdue the Princely Scepter, nor order and dispose of temporall rights; why may not the Pope be limited with some clauses? Of what he may do, and what he may not doe? The *Gent.* dogeth me, with *P. R.* his distinction of directly, and indirectly, which importeth thus much, that in plaine, true, and in direct course, to his Pastorall office, there be fixed bounds,

which he cannot passe, but in an vndue vnproper, and indirect course, he may goe where he listeth, neyther hedge nor ditch can hold him, neyther can there any matter or cause be conceiued, wherevnto this indirect and outstretched power may not be carried, we reckon in the Common acceptation of speech, vndirect dealing to bee fraudulent and vniust dealing, and why should it not likewise be vnderstood, that this indirect authority is a wrong vsurping, and mis-begotten authority?

The temporall is subordinate to the spiritual therefore (*in ordine ad spiritualia*) he that hath all spirituallity, may in that regard, as occasions be ministred, rule, and order any temporall thing, or businesse whatsoever; this is the reach & strayne of their (indirectly) which can be no lesse then a direct and shamelesse illuding shift, for main-
tayning whereof, and iustifying of that infinity of doing and determining, so many English Subiects, must forsake and abandon their obedience, breaking a sunder all the chaynes of loue and allegiance, which Nature, Lawes, Diuine, and humane, and necessity it selfe doeth tye them with, alas, that vpon so slender prooffe, not contayning so much as a shadow of any probability, our deare Country-men enjoying the benefits of the same soyle, and pertaking the protection of so gracious a Prince: whereby their liues and estates are preserved in peace and good repose, should bee bewitched to their owne wee, and seduced to the stirring of sedition: Yet it is not vnknowne that diuers of them moued more with the true zeale of rendring to his Maiesty, their dutious respects, then carried with that head-strong, and blind zeale, of attending the pleasure and commands of their great Dragon, haue willingly (and as wee are

to judge) faithfully taken the oath aforesayd, to the exceeding comfort and (as he entertayneth the same with an acceptable construction) to the assuring of his Majesty, of their vnfeined fidelitty.

But this cauilling *Gent.* taketh exception vnto, and maketh considerations vpon the words, (willingly and faithfully.) First, for shew and prooffe that they haue not done it willingly or freely: hee alledgeth that the statute imposing such a paine vpon the refusors, doth make a kinde of restraynt through feare; and so depriueth them both of liberty and freedome; I appeale to the parties themselues, that haue taken the oath, who speaketh more truely and honestly of, then he, or I, when I finde it a branch of their oath, that they doe sweare willingly, I doe belecue them, not taking them to be so Reprobate, as in any such desperate manner to forswear themselues: Neither doe I iudge, so vncharitably of them, as that the passion of feare could so farre transport them as to make them sweare against their consciences: He (belike knowing them better then I) concludeth against them, that they haue not taken the oath willingly, and therefore they be directly periur'd, yet he thinketh he hath pleaded them againe, and salued the matter by laying the fault vpon the enforcement of feare, wrought in their hearts, by the rigiour of the Law: In the meane time hee maketh them in their Religion to be very faint, and of little faith, if worldly respects and dread of Calamities; can so farre stagger them, or preuaile ouer their infirmities, as to make them feare man more then God; and so in an vnbeleefe and prophannesse, hazard saluation by forswearing; but because he so carpeth at the carriage, and composure of that

oath, and the enterlacing of those words, I would aske his opinion whither it be not lawfull and reasonable that any Magistrate may, yea ought, to charge the conscience of him that sweareth, that he shall doe the same willingly, and faithfully? Or doth he know any oath, wherein the same are equall thereunto, to expresse the trueth and sincerity of the heart, be not eyther directly vsed, or necessarily imployed? His supposall of feares, troubles, or losses, is as applyable to the taking of any other oath, and by any other persons aswell as to this, by them taken, seeing that there is no oath prescribed to be required or exacted of any subiect, but the refusall thereof doth occasionally, and consequently, draw dangers and losses to the partie so refusing. And doth hee thinke it fit to insert thereof that all the oathes that are propounded with such condition, or likely to breed such inconvenience to the refuser, are not taken freely and heartily? I wish his wits more freedome, and his heart more loyalty then so to judge.

If the oath had stayed at the recognition of his Majesties right vnto the Crowne, and had not mentioned the Popes Authority, or any restrictions concerning the same, the heavinesse and extremitie of the penaltye appointed against the refusers, and so much aggravated by this *Gen.* had not beene charged as a compulinarie cause, or any privation, or impediment to the freedome of the Catholikes consciences, whereby it is made evident, that not the manner, but the matter of the said oath, it is, that stingeth and offendeth them so much; for otherwise they will not deny, but his Majestie may lawfully, either by oath (which putteth vpon their Soules an awe and obligation spirituall) or by propounding correspondent punishment

nishment temporall (which often worketh a suppression of outward attempts) secure himselfe so farre as he may of good affection, or at the least of no aversion in his Subjects.

As touching the other word (faithfully) howsoever he comments vpon the same either by way of interpretation of the sense and meaning, which his Catholikes re-
teyned to themselves, when they tooke the said oath, or by way of direction vnto such as shall hereafter be pressed thereunto, what cautelous reservation they may make by a mentall conceit, (for surely by giuing his iudgement what the former haue done, he intendeth to instruct the rest what to do) yet for my part, I will still hold my selfe in my rule of charity which before I haue obserued, That for as much as they haue sworne, that the words by them spoken were sincerely acknowledged, according to the plaine and common sense and vnderstanding of the same, without any equivocation or mentall evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. I doe not beleue, that any of them haue vsed any such damnable deceit, or haue so apparently and grossely forsworne themselves. Can this *Gen*, be so hard-hearted towards his beloued, as when he seeth and rehearseth the very words of their religious asseverations, and protestations, and that with this concluding clause (by the faith of a Christian) yet to iudge that they tooke the said oath in the same lawfull sense and interpretation which might stand with the true Catholike doctrine, making them thereby equivocators, and mentall Iugglers, yea, expresse periured, if they haue secretly reteyned any others meanings then as the common and plaine sense of the words affordeth. But how doth he convey and conser that part of the oath as con-

cerning the Popes Authority, in dealing with temporall Princes? What moderate meaning hath he found for the safegard of the Catholike consciences that haue taken that oath? Truly this devise and exposition is so sleight and simple, as that I am verily perswaded he propoundeth and publisheth the same, meereley for the instruction and practise of the simple and vulgar Catholikes: The learned amongst them would be ashamed of so meane and vnschollerlike a shift, to wit, that in swearing, that the Pope hath no authority to proceed against Princes, they should subunderstand (without good cause) for this interpretation (saith he) is agreeable to the integritie and sinceritie of the Catholike doctrine, *quia illud possumus quod iure possumus*, And I pray the Gentlemans worship, to tell me whether *non possumus etiam quod iure non possumus*, is not power for the most part extendable beyond right and iustice? But in this case the question it selfe being *De iure*, Whether the Pope rightfully and lawfully (as incident into his Pastoral place) may exercise power and authority over Princes temporally, how frivolously, and ridiculously, is this evasion devised, that hee may not doe it without good cause, which is as much to say, hee may not doe it lawfully, except hee doe it lawfully. Why? the question is not what hee may doe vnlawfully, for then wee might give to some one Pope an exemption, and dispensation for more sinnes, then there were vertues among them all. But when it is asked what this supream Pastor may doe, or what he may not doe, in the right of his ministeriall office, this same (*iure*) hath reference to the authority generall, and not to the exercise thereof in any vnlawfull particularitie. Yet I may not so haue done with this his so foolish conceit, lest if I let him passe there-

therewith, hee may gather vpon me another absurdity, that (with good cause) the Pope may take vpon him the power, which we absolutely deny him, who knoweth not, that the cause and offence may be such as may moue and provoke the dislike of all men? yet the correction, reformation and restraint belongeth not to all men, but only to a competent and authorized Iudge, which the Pope over Princes can never be, especially in temporall affaires, neither directly, that is truly and by commission, nor indirectly, that is coulerably by any devised or fained pretence, wherfore if he can invent no better an hiding corner for dissembling swearers, I hope there is no Catholike will make vse of his so fond a reservation and favorable interpretation, which indeed is all one, as if he asked leave to speak senselessly, to meane deceitfully, and to practise treacherously; presently after this out of his charity he had conceaved this escape by construction, for the consciences of Catholikes, forgetting (as it seemeth) that the said oath had by speciall words provided against such reserved meanings, he remembreth himselfe better acknowledging that as this case standeth, they may not well induce themselves to equivocate, or swear in any other sense then fro his Maiestie is proposed, and concludeth it to be lesse hurt plainly to deny to swear, then by such swearing to giue no satisfaction neither to God, the King, himselfe, nor his neighbors, thereupon falleth into a deepe grave invective against this great pressure laid vpon mens consciences, shewing that howsoever we reckon it a godly devise & intent, and that God did accordingly blesse the same, yet that no violence or oppression whatsoever is like to this, and that the devising of this new oath was no blessing, but an vnpeakable affliction and augaracion of mind (his angry passion forging vnto vs that

that new word) and in this fuming fashion he proceedeth, not forbearing to tell vs that by such extreame vexing of men, we shall gaine nothing, and giueth vs further to vnderstand, that such forcing of men against
 “ their consciences may make vs more doubtfull of their
 “ good will after they haue sworne, then we were before; and that iniury receiued, must needs stirre
 “ them to more auersion of heart, working contrary effects to that which is pretended; Nay, he dareth also to adde hereunto some threatens and terrors, Setting
 “ foorth that amongst all other passions, none is more
 “ strong then that of reuenge for oppressions receiued,
 “ and therefore would haue vs conceiue, and apply it,
 “ that such as do not sticke to sweare against their consciences, for feare or other passions, will as easily breake
 “ that oath vppon like motiues if occasion serue: In this boyling manner doth the serueny of his spirit inkindle the inclinable hearts of the male-contented, Catholikes, by the memory of their wrongs, and with vehemeny of words, making incitations, to sedition, and insurrection; his Theologicall resolving that wee commit a grieuous sinne, when wee force and presse men to sweare against their consciences, making the same the highest degree of scandall actiue, tendeth to no other end, then to scandalize the Iustice of our state, and to animate their mutining and factious complices, to some desperate vndertakings.

And because hee sayth, that such their Catholike Doctrine, will not be denyed of the learned Protestants themselves: He forceth for answer a declaration of the truth, positiuely mayntained amongst vs in that behalfe; wherein (first absolutely denying that *de facto* we enforce any

any (so to sweare) or that the tenor of the Statute, or any rigor containd in the penalty thereof, doth presse them to any repugnancy, against their consciences, we confesse that amongst private men in particuler necessities, for discovering of some truth, which otherwise cannot be made knowne this course of giving and taking satisfaction by a voluntary oath is held in vse, and that needfully and lawfully; and that in such debates of private nature, it belongeth to the discretion, honesty, and conscience of any well advised man, not to require or accept of the oath of any such as hee by vehement presumption mis-doubteth will forswear himselfe. But when for the publike good, and by publike authority of the Law, the publike officer or Magistrate is enioyned to vrge an oath, or to be satisfied by the same, he therein (for performing and executing of the direction and command of the Law) is not to be blamed, neyther committeth any sinne, though in his private opinion hee shall suspect that the party so brought to his oath, will falsly or corruptly forswear.

For heerein hee is but a Minister of the Law, and must leaue the searching into the secrets of the heart, to the Almighty all seeing, and all iudging God, his duty and office both worketh and endeth in the act of the Law, saving that piety and charity may mooue him zealously to admonish him that so sweareth, to haue God and his Christian faith in remembrance, and to beware of all precipitation into the danger of hell fire.

This godly and charitable advisednesse, (I am well assured) is duely obserued by the Magistrates of this Realme, not suffering any to passe so carelesly, as not with louing tenderesse to admonish them, of the im-

portant poynts, of that oath, and to adhort him to plainnesse, and willingnesse in taking of the same, that their consciences may not after be combred, and confounded with scruples, conflicts, or reluctations.

He affirmeth a likely obiection to be made on our side, for defence of the enforcing of Catholikes to this oath, which is by way of justification, of our doings therein, to be agreeable to the practise of the Romish Church, or in a course of recrimination that the Popish authority is more or equally culpable of the same offence, because in the tribunalls of inquisitors, men are forced to abiure their opinions, and that vnder paine of death, or other most grieuous punishments.

Now what is his answer, and what is the difference which he findeth out, to conuince our constrainings to be dissauiowable, and theirs (much more violent and Tyrannous) to be approuable? marry, because the Catholike Church hath *ius acquisitum* ouer Heretickes, as her due subiects, though now gone out of her, and departed from her; doth this answer besecme a *Gent.* that professeth learning, who well knoweth that wee will presently deny the Popish to be the Catholike Church? that we haue not departed from the Church? but from the abominations of *Rome*, that we be neither Heretickes, nor subiects to that Antichristian Supremacy, and that their *ius acquisitum* is not obtayned by any derivation or substitution from Christ, but it is intruded and vsurped, and so rightly termed *acquisitum*, being neither *Datum* nor *Legitimum*, but gotten by fraudulent contriuings, and strong illusions; in which cases it is not vnlawfull to shake of the yoke of bondage, and Tyranny, so vniustly brought vpon vs, so soone as any means

meanes and opportunity shall be offered.

And the rather because we haue (to front this *Ius acquisitum* with) an old and strong opposition in our Law, that *nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, whose Royall pre-eminence and supream power, God hath in due time redeemed, from that great captiuitie of the *Romish Babel*; and was it not high time, and most requisite that the dignity, and Maiesty of this Kingdome should be exempted from the seruitude of that *Ius acquisitum*? Doe you not note that all such as be or haue beene brought vnder the same, are by this *Gent.* called the subiects of the Catholike Church? such is the haughtinesse of that high built Tower of pride.

The Pope is here made a Sovereigne, St. Peters nets catcheth more Kingdomes, then Fortune cast into the nets of the *Athenian* Captaine. The Monarchies of *Europe* must be come the acquistes or perquisites of the Court of *Rome*. Hath not then the Pope some reason thus to contend for the retayning of his subiects in his obedience, by barring of them from swearing themselves subiects to his Majestic, and by performing of the duties of allegiance requierable of subiects? I shall be driven to avouch in earnest, that which Cardinall *Bellarmino* gathereth against vs as a great absurditie, that is, That "no man can professe vnfeinedly his civill obedience, "and detest treason and conspiracy, but hee must bee "forced also to renounce the Primacy of the Sea of *Rome*. The headship of the supream Bishop which beareth away in his streame the service and devotion of so many reputed Catholikes, is the headspring of treacherie and sedition, which by claiming amongst vs so many subiects, draweth from vs their affection and obedience.

The distinction of Spirituall subjection and civil obedience, is become idle and of no vse, because the Pope doth not keepe his quarter, but will needs breake forth of the rayles and limits of that distinction, taking vpon him to be authorized also temporally, and that, for the suppression and subversion of the Civill Sovereignty, and so vpon that occasion (having his sheepe as by his pastorall charge to attend his call and heare his voyce) maketh at the least a scruple, and distraction, if not a full declination in the wills and dutyes of the people of this Kingdome, whence must necessarily arise either privie complottings, or open attempts, in favour of their opinions, and in furtherance of their desires, which how farre it will extend, and into how deepe degrees it vseth to grow, many sorowfull and fearefull examples hath in this Realme demonstratively declared vnto vs, to every whereof Papacy hath bene the stirrer and instigator. I scant dare to mention that late most memorable example (beyond all examples) of the Powder-Treason, this Gentleman is so tender-eared, as that he cannot indure to heare of that, he findeth fault with the appologer for the odious and often repetition thereof. I cannot blame them if the repetition of that purpose be thought odeous, which maketh them odeous to all true Christian hearts, and putteth all the world at gaze, in admiring at a designe so diuellish and detestable. And because he asketh whether there be no end of reprobation, I will end with a wish, That there were in that hollow vault some shrill and screeching *Exco*, that might never cease, by continuall resounding out-cries, to beate and fill the aire, with the memorie of that hellish enterprise, that a Treason so extraordinarie, hatched vp with the
heate

heate of Papacy, should even from forth of the stones themselves receave for ever in all succeeding Ages, a most iust reproofe and exprobaton. My position wherewith I will conclude is this, That albeit I doe not hold all popish opinions, or Papists seduced with such errors, to be culpable of Treason, knowing that many simple and vninstructed people, may in some perticulers be misled, and neverthelesse remaine allowable subiects, and perhaps not forsaken Christians: Yet such and so many of them, as directly, and compleatly, maintaine Papacy, that is, the Supremacy of the Pöpes power and Authority in the sense, and to the purpose, as this Gentleman and P. R. hath expressed and advanced the same, and in vpholding thereof, deny their Faith, Allegiance, Assistance, Subjection, and Adherence vnto their Sovereigne, doe carry Treasonable hearts, and are thereby apted for the like Aétions, as opportunity shall allure or enable them thereunto.

(*)

P. I. N. I. S.
